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NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 9, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 16

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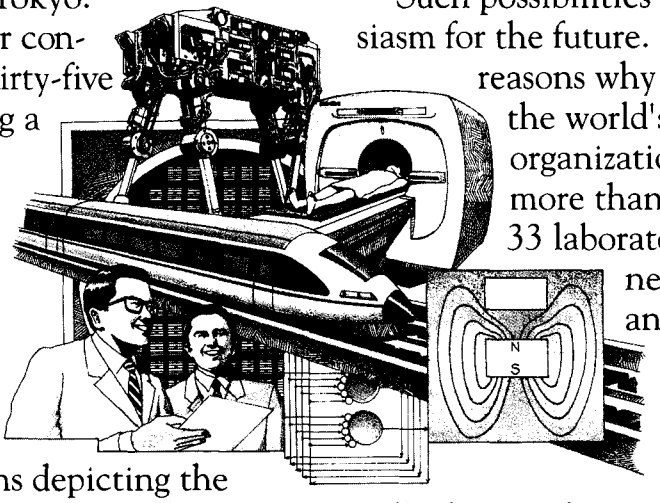

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LETTERS

From the Foxholes

Writers in journals which aspire to represent spiritual as well as political conservatives fail at their task if they persist, as Richard Brookhiser does, in joining the debate on their adversaries' terms ["Are There Episcopalians in Foxholes?" July 29]. Appeal to tradition is not a strategy for success when your opponent argues "inclusiveness" and "tolerance." No, the real struggle gripping America's Christian denominations is between the faithful who belong because they know and love Jesus, and those who belong because they see the church as a convenient and co-optable vehicle for their worldly agendas.

The Episcopal Church may indeed be under siege, but the faithful within it are far from defeated. Mr. Brookhiser reports on the ordination of "gay" Father Williams by Episcopal bishop and talk-show guest John Spong, but fails to mention the vote by the church's House of Bishops to disavow the action.

It is true that the Episcopal Church has been losing members over the last twenty years and that the decline in numbers coincides with a revision of the Prayer Book and the ordination of women. But the key fact that Mr. Brookhiser fails to note is the coincident rise in membership of nontraditional, nonliturgical pentecostal and fundamentalist Christian churches. In its haste to be of the world as well as in it, the Episcopal Church has neglected something those denominations offer: the Gospel message of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour of us all. It is that tradition, not Elizabethan formulas for prayers or an exclusively male clergy, that will bring people back to the Episcopal Church.

Richard L. Ranger Jr.
Catherine A. Ranger
Anchorage, Alaska

Several years ago, in talking to a group of priests of the Episcopal Church, the late Bishop J. A. T. "Honest to God" Robinson urged that some of the salubrious doctrines of Taoism should be incorporated into Christianity. When asked what the Tao is, Dr. Robinson fumbled about in his mind for a moment or two and replied, "It's nothing." The answer was not correct but it does give an insight into the mentality of liberal Anglican clerics. They are poorly educated, they do not have rigorous training in any of the academic disciplines in either their undergraduate or their divinity-school studies, they are not well informed, and after Ordination they drift amiably and aimlessly into the vulgar nihilism of the social environment in which they live and work.

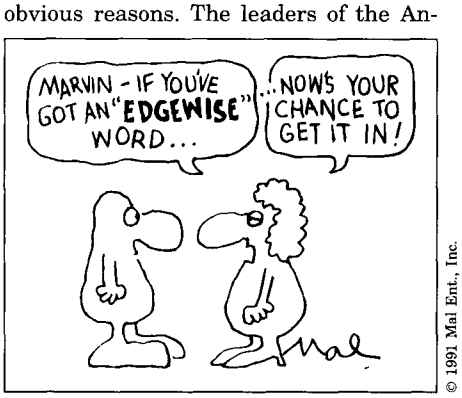
The Reverend Roland Thorwaldsen
St. Stephen's Episcopal Church
Beaumont, Calif.

Richard Brookhiser and William Oddie have both done a sterling job in defining the crisis in the Episcopal Church. Unfortunately, Dr. Oddie's use of a popular term for the Episcopal Church has caused some embarrassment to the members of the American Episcopal Church. This is the oldest, and the second largest, of the so-called Continuing Episcopal Churches in the United States. These are bodies formed since the original Episcopal Church let Bishop Pike off the hook by abolishing heresy.

Once known as the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," the Episcopal Church seems to have gone through as many name changes as crises. First it dropped the term "Protestant," probably to comply with laws requiring truth in advertising. Then it dropped the words "in the United States of America," a description which must have dismayed its Central American dioceses.

If the Episcopal Church is in a state of schism, the Continuing Churches are similarly divided for less than obvious reasons. The leaders of the Anglican Catholic Church and the American Episcopal Church have asked representatives of all these jurisdictions and traditional Episcopalians to come together this fall to seek reconciliation and unity. Together we might all approach in membership the twenty-thousand-member figure quoted in Mr. Brookhiser's article. His, no doubt, is what we term a "parson's count," in which are numbered the quick and the dead, angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven. However small we may be, we are attracting to our ranks not only discontented Episcopalians but many other people who seek "traditional Anglicanism" not as a museum of antiquated dogmas and liturgies, but as an expression of Christian faith and practice which continues to be alive.

Most Reverend Anthony F. M. Clavier
The American Episcopal Church
Charlottesville, Va.



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For one whose Anglican roots are as deep as our nation's history, there is much to ponder in your article on the current quandaries in the Episcopal Church in the USA (ECUSA). The opening banner of the article states the matter succinctly and is much more to the point than the author's suggestion that the denomination is too often associated with "robber-baron power churches of the big cities or the hunt country." While he acknowledges the fallacy of that generalization, an appropriate balance to the putdown would have been his mentioning the exceptional contributions throughout America's history made by statesmen of the faith, far out of proportion to their modest numbers.

J. Howell Peebles Jr.
Tullahoma, Tenn.

For almost as long as I can remember, my Church's triennial conventions have been embarrassingly divisive. Two decades ago the crisis arose over the "need" to modernize the Prayer Book, and even the Lord's Prayer. Then came the most divisive matter of woman priests and, necessarily, woman bishops. Next the Hymnal needed revising. Now we are seeing the new struggles over gender-neutral prayers and Scripture, and sanctifying homosexual "marriages." I have been in many parishes in my life, and never do I recall *any* Angst in the pews over these questions. It was as if the Catholic Church of the Sixties sneezed, and we caught pneumonia.

The Nineties have been proclaimed across this land, and from Canterbury, as "A Decade of Evangelism." I have

(Continues on page 53)

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ON THE RECORD

■ Why are Democratic pols lukewarm about Gov. **Bill Clinton**'s presidential candidacy? He's 45, attractive, verbal, electable (five times), voted most effective governor by his fellow governors, Democrat and Republican. A look at conservative New Hampshire provides an answer. New Hampshire's Democratic machine has just denied a charter to Clinton's moderate Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). **Claibourne Darden Jr.**, a Southern pollster, explains: "I don't think the core of the party," dominated as it is by a coalition of labor unionists, liberals, and feminists, "is going to let him raise his head," says Darden, even though Clinton could bring back Southern Democrats who have deserted the party in droves since **Ronald Reagan**'s first election. . . . **William Schneider**, political analyst at American Enterprise Institute, says Democratic National Committee is deeply suspicious of DLC's moderation. This moderation is defined in *Christian Science Monitor* article as "support for welfare reform, a strong defense policy, and tax breaks for the middle class." . . . **Everett Carll Ladd** of Roper's finds part of Democrats' problem in fielding an attractive candidate is what he describes as the lack of appetite in America for new government initiatives that would mean higher taxes. These, says Ladd, might have gone over last year, but "the latest round of tax increases—the federal hike last fall, and the major new increases introduced in many states—has brought much of the country to a tax revolt." . . . So where do the Democrats go? "Besides [**Mario**] **Cuomo**," says **Ed Rollins**, a leading GOP strategist, "there really is no one else." Cuomo's vulnerabilities were illustrated last week in full-page ad about his nine-year stewardship of New York's affairs. Ad was placed in *Cape Cod Times* during annual mayors' conference by CHANGE-NY, the conservative N.Y. group founded by **Lewis Lehrman** and **Herbert London**, both of whom have run against Cuomo. . . . Commenting on **Jay Rockefeller**'s decision not to run, **Charles Black**, a Washington Republican insider, said: "It's another big-name Democrat who got all prepared, got up to the starting gate, blinked, and backed up." . . . One Californian might be interested. When asked about 1992, former Gov. **Jerry Brown** commented that he was "not unthinking" about running. . . . Gov. **Douglas Wilder** of Virginia has authorized his organization to start polling in New Hampshire. Wilder says that he is "encouraged by what I hear," and is expected to announce in September. . . . Former Massachusetts Sen. **Paul Tsongas**, at this writing the only Dem formally in the race, is pretty much folding his campaign in Iowa on assumption that Sen. **Tom Harkin**, pin-up boy of the Democratic Left, will be unbeatable in home state if he decides to run. . . . And **Matthew Rothschild**, editor of *The Progressive*, has set up committee to nudge Connecticut resident **Ralph Nader** into entering the race. But he doesn't know whether Nader should run as Democrat or independent. (More independents Connecticut doesn't need, as it goes into its third month without a budget, independent Gov. **Lowell Weicker** having just vetoed his third budget since May.)

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"Would you say you've bottomed out?"

■ Black leaders continue to debate **Clarence Thomas** nomination. Siding with the NAACP, AFL-CIO, NOW, in the anti-Thomas camp is **Haywood Burns**, dean of City of New York Law School, who thinks it is "too much of a risk" to confirm Thomas in the hope that "some of the racist stuff he hears from the other Justices will cause him to turn." (This may come as a surprise to the "racist" other Justices.) . . . **Derrick Bell** of Harvard Law is dismissive: "These guys [like Thomas] run the gamut from political opportunists to out-and-out hustlers." . . . **S. Allen Early III**, prominent black Detroit lawyer, fears Thomas could be used for "nefarious purposes" by right-wing Justices eager to make their own anti-civil-rights, anti-affirmative-action agendas respectable. (This may come as a surprise to the "anti-civil-rights" Justices.) . . . On the opposing team, **Stephen Carter** of Yale comments: "If nothing else, the nomination of Clarence Thomas will break the stereotype that if you're black and you're smart and you're prominent, you must be a liberal Democrat." He adds: "Mind you, I have nothing against liberal Democrats. I have something against stereotypes." . . . On the plus side for Thomas were decisions (however narrow) of ACLU, League of Women Voters, and National Urban League to sit this one out. . . . Figures compiled by Population Reference Bureau, Inc. show major advances for black middle class in past two decades: over one million black families had incomes of $50,000 or more in 1989, as against a quarter million in 1969; the Eighties showed an increase of 49 per cent in black elected officials over the pre-Reagan decade. . . . These advances, says **William O'Hare** of U. of Louisville's Urban Research Institute, are reflected in polls showing younger affluent blacks supporting Thomas.

■ Columnist **Mary McGrory** had little doubt as to who was to blame for **Mikhail Gorbachev**'s ouster. "Gorbachev's inability to break with his Leninist past slowed reform and disappointed the Left; it in no way appeased the Right, which is as implacable in the Soviet Union as it is here" (*Washington Post*, August 20).

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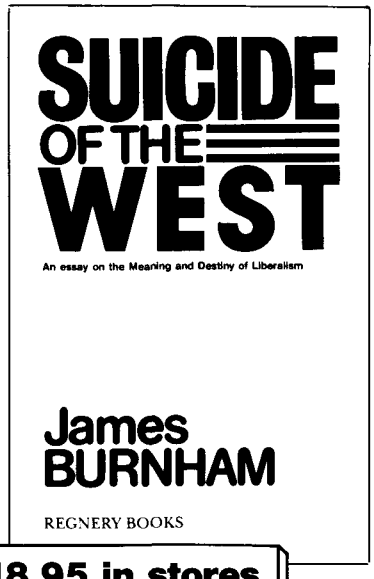

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Writing on the Wall

■ As this column is being written, it seems that the Moscow crisis could have two quite different outcomes: another Tiananmen Square or the gradual collapse of the coup and the return of Gorbachev to the presidency.

Whatever the result, however, certain conclusions can already be drawn. The first is that Soviet totalitarianism is an idea with the stuffing knocked out of it. Outside the Soviet Union, it attracts support only from primitive thugs from undeveloped and violent political cultures like Libya's Qaddafi and Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

Within the USSR, the sole respect it gets is that given to brute force. And even that authority is sporadic and uncertain. The coup plotters, though apparently disposing of massive armed force, were not able to control the streets, dictate the television news programs, persuade the Republics' leaders to support their seizure of power, or even cut off telephones. Soviet citizens have finally recovered from Stalinism; they no longer automatically obey.

It follows that those who saw *perestroika* and *glasnost* as vast deceptions were really deceiving themselves. Some continue to do so with notions of a "Potemkin coup" designed to establish Gorbachev's indispensability. A beguiling idea. But I should not have wished to be a KGB man trying to persuade Gorbachev that we should arrest and detain him "as a ruse" in order to release him later to the relieved applause of the West. He might have suspected my motives.

The truth is both simpler and more complicated than any conspiracy: political and constitutional change is inherently difficult to manage. The liberalization launched by Gorbachev may have been intended merely to modernize and strengthen Lenin's *ancien régime*. But such processes often drag their creators along a path not entirely of their own choosing at a pace they cannot control. *Perestroika* dragged Gorbachev toward free markets, private property, and a multiparty system—none of them among his original aims.

Half against his intention, therefore, Gorbachev has become a symbol of freedom—and a hero to the liberal media that would like to blame his plight on Mr. Bush's refusal to fully fund *perestroika*. The less heroic reality is that Gorbachev was overthrown largely because his reforms persistently fell short of what was required. Born of compromise with the Soviet paleo-Communists, they literally could not deliver the goods. As a result his popularity waned to the point that the neo-Stalinists he had appointed to high positions in earlier tactical shifts felt it safe to dispense with him.

Obeying the Leninist insight that the Party should sacrifice everything except control—first seen in the Brest–Litovsk Pact that surrendered vast tracts of territory to the Germans in return for consolidation of the Bolshevik regime—the Soviet junta acted to halt a Union Treaty that would have left the center with little real power. Gorbachev thus gave these logical Leninists both opportunity and incentive for his removal.

That removal may, paradoxically, save his reputation. But he will never again be the Soviet Union's leading figure. If the coup succeeds, he will be its literal prisoner, though perhaps one in the gilded cage of high office. If it fails, he will be the metaphorical prisoner of Boris Yeltsin, the real hero of the hour, in a new Soviet commonwealth of independent Republics without a Communist Party to speak of. And since the junta has no idea of how to tackle the Soviet Union's vast economic problems, as Robert Conquest points out on page 19, even a successful coup will do no more than postpone the development of a non-Communist Soviet Union in Yeltsin's image.

Nothing can save Lenin's heritage. What remains to be seen is whether it ends with a bang or a whimper.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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THE WEEK

■ The Soviet coup, as someone has put it, is as if a crew of pirates had taken over the *Titanic*. And with the popular captain now in irons, the West can root unashamedly for the iceberg.

■ In a town where pots routinely call kettles black, it is hard not to smile at screaming newspaper headlines linking prominent Democrats, from Clark Clifford to Jimmy Carter, to the BCCI banking scandal. Of course, none of these men has been indicted yet, much less convicted—and we shouldn't forget that. But how come it's "sleaze" when Ed Meese gets a pair of cufflinks but not when Jimmy Carter gets $8 million?

■ Jay Rockefeller's decision to pull out of the 1992 presidential race was a surprise. His chances of winning were slight. But so were Tom Dewey's in 1944. He made the race against FDR anyway, so as to have a lock on the nomination the next time around. Rockefeller, reasonably personable and young, and unreasonably rich, could have played the same game with a view to 1996. That leaves the party waiting for Mario. Many Democrats yearn for him to run because they see him as a tough-talking tough guy who could make the race interesting. Others would like him to carry their standard because they view him as an obnoxious narcissist whose destruction will clear the 1996 field for them. Both views contain large elements of truth. The stature of the remaining contenders—Tsongas declared, Harkin and Clinton poised to, Gore waiting—prompts us to suggest another contender: Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut. Lieberman has a fairly solid record on defense—he was the only Northern Democrat to vote for the use of force in the Gulf—plus a certain blue-collar appeal. BUCK-PAC will consider the appropriate measures at its next annual meeting.

■ Congressional Democrats never let the good guys rest. Last week they presented George Bush with a bill that would expand unemployment benefits by $4.5 billion—and he signed it. But because of a trick of law, Bush was able to nix the measure by not declaring an emergency. No emergency, no funds. Still, he's in a pickle. Assuming the Democrats come back as promised with an even more expensive bill, they will have twice forced the President into vetoing measures that would supposedly help the little guy; never mind that they would only deepen the recession. It doesn't help that the President was vacationing at Kennebunkport at the time. Indeed, Representative Thomas Andrews (D., Mass.) rushed to denounce Bush for "floating on his speedboat while Maine voters are sinking in debt." Yet there's something the President can do, and that's getting us *out* of the recession by backing the growth package proposed by Senator Phil Gramm (R., Tex.) and Representative Newt Gingrich (R., Ga.), which would raise personal exemptions for all, cut the capital-gains tax, and lift the tax penalty on older workers—and strike fear into the hearts of his adversaries.

■ It was truly a shot heard around the world: Ronald Reagan cut taxes and within a few years, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Australia, Britain, France, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands—even Indonesia—followed our lead. Before 1981, tax rates were thought to correlate directly with tax revenues. Then we cut rates—from 70 per cent to 50 per cent—and watched revenues soar. By 1988, with the top rate down to 28 per cent, the wealthiest 1 per cent of earners were paying 60 per cent more in taxes (in constant dollars) than in 1981; their share of total taxes rose from 18 per cent to more than 27 per cent during that period. Supply-siders had promised increased work incentives, but no one anticipated 18 million new jobs, a 30 per cent rise in GNP, and average family income rising to a record—just below $42,000. Diehard Keynesians still claim the expansion as their own doing; they are at a loss to

"This is Farley Dunbar, substituting for Dan Rather, who was overcome by events . . ."

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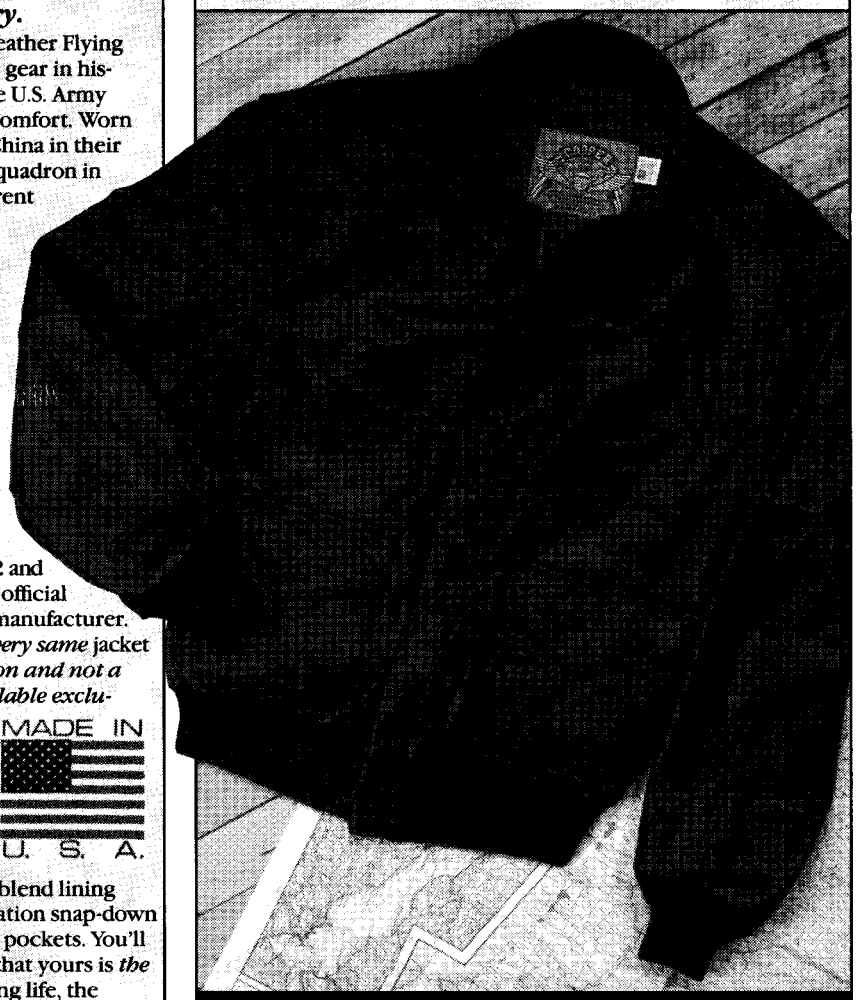

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explain, however, why deficits led to worsening inflation in the Seventies, whereas larger deficits were accompanied by less inflation in the Eighties. Clearly, something different was going on. And we would do well, in this time of non-existent domestic policy, to ponder the achievement of Kemp–Roth, signed by Ronald Reagan on August 13, 1981.

■ The *New York Times* recently profiled one Wendell Eugene Primus, the chief economist of the House Ways and Means Committee during last year's budget debate. Mr. Primus is an adroit number-cruncher; his statistics were used to marshal support for the luxury tax and higher income-tax rates. In reading the account of his wide-ranging influence, indeed, we were reminded of a remark attributed to a Russian dignitary standing atop Lenin's tomb during a May Day parade. After thousands of troops, tanks, and missiles had filed through Red Square, about twenty men in baggy business suits marched in. "Who are they?" someone asked. "Our economists," was the reply. "You have no idea of the destructive power they possess."

■ One group that wasn't surprised by the rise of Yanayev was the National Strategy Information Center, which described him in the Spring 1991 issue of its newsletter, *Political Warfare*, as a "man to watch," noting 1) his high profile in Nixon's meetings with Gorbachev, Kryuchkov, and Pugo and 2) his career in organizations "central to Soviet active measures"—i.e., attempts to manipulate Western public opinion through front groups, disinformation, etc. As near as we can determine, the NSIC was the first to underline the fact that upon his election the new vice president of the "reformist" USSR called himself "a Communist to the depths of my soul." Finally a man who fulfills his campaign pledges.

■ It is good to know that Saddam Hussein hasn't turned *all* the tables on us, even as he continues to harass the Kurds and pursue his nuclear program, one step ahead of the UN sheriffs. Iraq is reported to have returned the gold bullion it stole from Kuwait and to have begun returning the art it looted. The UN Security Council has now authorized the sale of $1.6 billion in Iraqi oil, with the proceeds earmarked for food and medicine inside Iraq and for compensation claims against the country. Control of the funds and the purchasing would be in UN hands. Iraqi authorities see this as rubbing their noses in it; they may not go along. If they don't, they lose the propaganda claim that it's the world community that is forcing hardship on the Iraqi people. If they do go along, it will do some good. Victory has its uses.

■ Events of the last month have thrown the causes of Yugoslav turmoil into sharp relief. The die-hard Serbian Communist Party, led by Slobodan Milosevic, having fastened onto Serbian nationalism as the best means of clinging to power, fomented a Serbian guerrilla uprising in the Krajina region of Croatia, backed by the Serbian-officered Yugoslav army. Perhaps its success in this effort inspired the larger die-hard Communist Party to the northeast. The Yugoslav succession is easier in theory to manage than the Soviet succession, but the civilized community will have to do some managing nonetheless. Specifically, Belgrade must be made to understand that unless the killings stop, Yugoslavia can expect no aid or trade; Yugoslavian nationals living abroad (and sending their paychecks home) will be sent packing; and Slovenian and Croatian independence will be recognized forthwith. Serbia's only hope of keeping some sort of Yugoslav confederation, and of adjusting its boundaries for longer than the next guerrilla campaign, depends on throwing the rascals out now and reaching peaceful agreements with its non-Serb neighbors. Meanwhile, if anyone has the address of the Habsburg pretender, could he please send it to Pérez de Cuellar?

■ Well, what do you know. The Federal Government now thinks the deadly chemical compound dioxin probably isn't so deadly after all. In the words of the *New York Times*: "Exposure to the chemical, once thought to be more hazardous than chain smoking, is now considered by some experts to be no more risky than spending a week sunbathing." The news comes a little late for the 2,200 former residents of Times Beach, Missouri, whom the Feds forcibly evacuated in 1982, when dioxin was found in the local soil. And what says Dr. Vernon Houk of the Centers for Disease Control, who urged that evacuation? "The only thing I would have done differently, I would have said we may be wrong. If we're going to be wrong, we're going to be wrong on the side of protecting human health." Kinda gives a new twist to that old line about, "Just what the doctor ordered."

■ A young man in Florida tried to steal some gas from a motor home but by mistake put his siphon in the sewage tank. Police had no trouble following his

An Unexpected Departure

With Gorby under house arrest
And Yeltsin wondering what's next
For functionaries suddenly
In face-offs with the KGB,
Diplomacy that's lashed to friends,
Long listing at the bow, upends.

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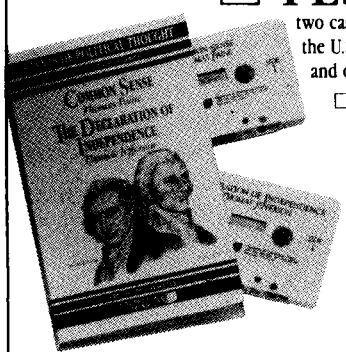

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trail and finding him nearby, very ill. The owner declined to press charges, saying it was the best laugh he'd had in ages.

■ In one baleful department, the U.S. still leads the world: serial murderers. Jeffrey Dahmer and Donald Leroy Evans, who claims to have killed sixty people (though he is probably inflating his achievements), are only the latest of a long line. Nearly all these killers have been white, in some cases well-to-do; none of their crimes had to do with material need. The old liberal saw that poverty causes crime is refuted by their gratuitous evil. It would be nearer the truth to say their crimes were made possible by wealth—by prosperity and leisure; by the automobile and the freedom to drift. For such men, violence seems to be what they find to do with the spare time that modern living affords them. Neither Dahmer nor Evans tried to plead victimhood; both seem almost eager to accept their punishment. Terrifyingly anarchic, they have nothing against the law, which has in fact been kind to them. Police ignored Dahmer's sexual attack on a minor; Evans was already on parole for a vicious sex crime he committed in 1986. However atypical their enormities are, Dahmer and Evans illuminate the real character of

RIGHT DATA

Charity or Suicide?

IF AMERICANS went on a spending binge during the 1980s, then charity seems to have been one of the most sought-after baubles. Charitable donations by individuals rose from $64.7 billion (1990 dollars) in 1980 to $102 billion in 1989, an increase of 57.7 per cent. At the same time, notes Richard McKenzie of the Center for the Study of American Business in St. Louis, real consumer spending rose a mere 33 per cent, and consumer borrowing—universally perceived as excessive during the decade—rose 48 per cent.

Moreover, after declining relative to national income during the Seventies, charitable donations rose from 2.1 per cent of income in 1979 to a record 2.7 per cent in 1989. McKenzie is unable to explain exactly why the charitable impulse grew. His statistical model finds, not surprisingly, that charitable donations rise along with per-capita income (people have more to give), with tax rates (the government, in effect, subsidizes a larger share of the tax-deductible donation), and with population (more potential donors and beneficiaries). Yet after taking these factors into account, Americans still gave $28 billion more in 1989 than would have been predicted based on earlier statistical relationships. Some other factor must have been responsible—perhaps a resurgence of religion.

Do Americans get what they pay for when they give to charity? A detailed study of the 1987 budgets of three health charities—the American Cancer Society, American Heart Association, and American Lung Association—found that less than one-quarter of their collections is used to fund medical research. Up to 33 per cent of their income is diverted to management salaries and fundraising, while other funds are used to amass real-estate, stock, and bond holdings, according to a June 1990 report of the Capital Research Center. In the case of the Lung Association, only four-tenths of 1 per cent of total income actually went to help people afflicted with disease.

Individuals are understandably taken in by some charities. Corporations, on the other hand, seem to knowingly give large sums to organizations that are clearly anti-business. In *Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy: The "Suicidal Impulse,"* economist Thomas DiLorenzo examines donations given by 146 major corporations to public-policy research organizations. DiLorenzo ranked these organizations from radical Left, defined as those favoring "government ownership and control of industry, wage and price controls, and industrial planning," to classical liberal, defined as groups that advocate "a minimal role for government, unrestricted free enterprise within the rule of law."

Of the total $28.2 million donated to policy groups in 1988, $17.5 million, or 62 per cent, went to left-of-center organizations. In the area of energy and environmental policy, left-of-center groups received $57.38 for each $1 going to conservative groups. While most businesses profess support for increased competition and parental choice in education, all but $72,600 of the $537,600 donated by corporations to policy groups in this area went to liberal groups.

In a foreword to the study, Pete duPont speculates on possible motives. Corporations may regard left-of-center institutions as more predictable, and therefore "safer," to support. Giving to such groups may reduce the chances that one's corporation will be singled out for criticism—a kind of "hush money." In the end the perverse giving may simply reflect ignorance on the part of executives, many of whom are oblivious to policy nuances. Since there are more think tanks on the Left than on the Right, even random donations will produce a left-of-center bias. —ED RUBENSTEIN

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crime in modern America: it springs much less from objective circumstances than from the perverse drive to self-expression.

■ When his own magazine, *Outweek*, folded, homosexual activist Michelangelo Signorile went over to *The Advocate* to "out" a Pentagon official. High-minded reasons were given for exposing the man's putative preferences, of course: he's a hypocrite, the military oppresses gays, etc. What the vice squad can no longer do, gay activists are doing instead. And wasn't it just yesterday that these birds were part of the chorus warning that Robert Bork was a threat to privacy?

■ Cathy Meredig, a feminist entrepreneuse, has invested $100,000 in her brainstorm, a sort of PC answer to the Barbie doll. Miss Meredig's doll has a thick waist, shortish legs, and hips of greater circumference than the chest—"responsibly proportioned," as she puts it. Only trouble is, she can't get the toy distributors to bite. Feminism just doesn't make it on the market. Try the Department of Education, Cath. They'll probably order a couple of warehousefuls.

■ Coming soon—more pusillanimous, more expensive than ever, it will grip you, flip you, and strip you: *Budget Summit II: The Sequel*.

Red Storm Rising

THE COUP in Moscow may turn out to be the terminal crisis of the Communist system. We like to think that the forces of democracy, national independence, and economic freedom let loose in the past few years will prove too strong to suppress. If this coup should fail (like the earlier resurgence of the hard-liners last winter), the way may be open to a decent future. If the coup succeeds, we are all brought down to earth and we learn a lesson or two about the tenacity of totalitarian regimes.

The Bush Administration may now feel that its long effort to prop up Gorbachev is vindicated: how we all miss the man when he's gone! We at *NR*, on the other hand, have worried that we were putting too many eggs in Gorbachev's basket when the truer agents of reform were in the Republics. Now the struggle will shift to those Republics, where resistance to the coup will be organized.

What this country and the G-7 democracies now need is a concerted, unified policy: all pressures must be brought to bear against this hard-liners' regime in order to discredit it, weaken it, and hasten its demise. President Bush has wisely suspended the economic benefits he had earlier given Gorbachev—MFN, loan guarantees, and technical assistance (in food distribution, transportation, and so on). Our European and Japanese allies look like doing the same. The rationale for those measures—to bolster Gorbachev the reformer—has now evaporated. Second, the arms-control treaties recently signed, CFE and START, should be held in abeyance for a while so that both the President and the Senate can consider whether the Soviets are willing or able to comply with them and whether we can have confidence in Soviet assurances in the new situation. Third, the United States will need to declare itself, finally and clearly, on Baltic independence, and indeed on the independence of all Republics that may seek to escape the grip of the central authority. This will be a key to any serious strategy against the new regime. Finally, NATO should reiterate the declaration from its May 29 ministerial meeting that Central Europe's independence and security are crucial to us. Not to provoke a crisis, but to deter one.

The financial markets, along with timid bureaucrats, fear what they call "instability." Conservatives want genuine stability, but they do not confuse it with propping up inherently unstable regimes. "Stability" of that kind would mean short-term consolidation of the unsavory coup regime and long-term trouble; "instability," continuing resistance to it, with the ultimate prospect of a more democratic and stable outcome. The United States and the West should be doing all in their power—symbolically, politically, economically—to foster such instability.

However this crisis turns out, it will be a salutary reminder that it's still a dangerous world. Contrary to what some may imagine, the ozone layer is not the most important security issue facing the country. The West must maintain the military balance of power and not rush headlong into unilateral disarmament. (Congress, take note.) The American role in Europe, and the North Atlantic Alliance as the embodiment of it, remain crucial to the cause of freedom. (Europhiles, take note.) The noise you hear is the sound of illusions bursting.

No Reward for Barbarism

GEORGE BUSH demonstrated at the beginning of the Iraq crisis a year ago that he knew how not to let his policies be derailed by hostage-taking. He has kept his cool on these issues far better than either of his predecessors. He deserves our support for the steady hand he has shown up to now. Recent history—the weakening of Soviet power, American strength after the Gulf War—is giving both Iran and Syria new incentive to resolve the problem of the Western hostages in Lebanon. Both states have ambitions to play a role on

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the world stage; the West has correctly insisted that release of all the hostages is a precondition.

Applause for Iran's and Syria's role here should be restrained, however. There has always been a more than legitimate question whether they were in a position all along to bring decisive pressure on the kidnappers. Perhaps they did not have total physical control of the various ragtag bands of ruffians for whom doling out an occasional photo or warm body was a guaranteed ticket to fame, excitement, and publicity; it may indeed be difficult to persuade these guys to give it all up and retire to the south of France. But U.S. *pressure* on Iran and Syria, rather than indulgence, has always seemed the best way to maximize their interest in forcing the kidnappers to release their victims. Geopolitical developments have contributed to that pressure.

We need to guard against excessive rewards for Iran and Syria now. Iran, while one of the most important countries in the region, is unlikely to be again a strategic ally of ours as under the Shah. We want to assure it will never be anyone else's strategic ally. That assurance is almost granted by the very nature of this obstreperous, independent-minded regime. So we need not pay it any great reward for its cooperation on this matter. If Iran is heading in a more moderate direction, well and good; it will see the benefit of more normal relations with us. More normal contacts would be useful for us as well, if only so as not to leave the Soviets, Europeans, and Japanese in charge of Iran's external relations. But such a normalization should come about in a manner consistent with American dignity and likely to persuade other states that thwarting U.S. interests invites unpleasant consequences.

Syria's goals in promoting release of the hostages are many, and not all consistent with ours. Syria wants to consolidate its grip on Lebanon and to regain a position of leadership in the Arab world. These goals are now served by seeking respectability and taking advantage of the diplomatic opportunity we have opened. But we should be wary, since the role Syria will actually play in the Mideast peace process remains to be seen. Its more constructive turn may prove to be largely tactical.

Thus, the burden of diplomatic accommodation still rests on Damascus and Teheran, not on us. The lesson we want to convey in the endgame of the hostage affair is that barbarism doesn't pay. President Bush, having hewn to the firm line, needs to stick to it until the game is truly over.

Quayle Zonks the ABA

Stung by one of their own, every lawyer,
Though awash in a lifestyle Tom Sawyer
  Would have ogled, lost sleep
  Castigating the Veep,
Whose aplomb would have tickled Charles Boyer.

W. H. VON DREELE

Uncommon Law

IT IS a happy accident when a genuinely populist reform may actually improve the lot of the common man. One such reform was recently proposed by Vice President Dan Quayle at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association. Politely informing the ABA that it had too many members, the Vice President drew heavily upon the scholarship of Peter Huber, Walter Olson, and others in recommending sweeping changes in our civil-justice system.

Such changes, if enacted, would not only curtail the continuing litigation explosion in the United States (whose legal system now gainfully employs 70 per cent of the world's lawyers), but in addition it would strengthen our international competitiveness, encourage innovation, revitalize an increasingly troubled insurance industry, save the American economy as much as $300 billion annually in direct and indirect litigation costs, and restore some semblance of the rule of law in our civil trial courts.

Among the principal initiatives in the Vice President's package are those encouraging pre-lawsuit negotiations between parties, promoting informal means of dispute resolution, placing limitations upon punitive damages, restricting interminable "fishing expeditions" into the other side's files, and establishing more effective sanctions against lawyers who file frivolous lawsuits or who make unfounded assertions in their pleadings. By far the most important of these reforms is the simplest—adoption of the "English Rule" that the legal costs of lawsuits should be borne by the losing side. The current "American Rule" requires each party to pay its own costs, with some fee-shifting statutes providing only prevailing *plaintiffs* with their legal costs. The proposed reform recognizes that it is only just to make the prevailing party in a suit whole again after trial.

The Vice President's program should include the continued appointment to the trial courts of judges who share the values of that program. Nothing has so discouraged frivolous federal litigation in recent years as the perceived hostility to such suits by newly appointed Reagan judges. Trial judges should be selected from among those few members of the ABA who joined in what the media described as a "smattering" of applause after the Vice President's speech—not among the majority sitting in "stony si-

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lence" and cheering only when the ABA president came forward to chastise Quayle for his audacious common sense.

Those handicapping the prospects for legal reform must reflect on the fact that a majority of congressmen probably pay dues to the ABA. Nevertheless, the Administration seems of late to have relished the opportunity to challenge the Beltway. And this is a fight that makes both political sense and policy virtue—another happy accident.

Discounting Chickens

THE WHITE HOUSE and the Senate Republicans are already celebrating the confirmation of Clarence Thomas. If the vote were to be taken today, that confidence would undoubtedly be justified. But danger—in the form of another campaign of the kind that unhorsed Robert Bork—is in the offing.

The groups that came out against Clarence Thomas—that pledged to "Bork him" and "kill him politically"—are putting their money where their mouths are. The NAACP, NOW, and People for the American Way are reliably rumored to be putting $1 million *each* into the anti-Thomas kitty. They are promising an ad campaign of such a nature that by the time the hearings start on September 10, Willie Horton will have a better chance than Clarence Thomas of getting on the Court.

Where are those who should be responding? The White House apparat was in Kennebunkport, just as it was in California in 1987 when the critical organizing was being done against Bork. The big conservative donors are doing nothing—or else matching the Left's millions with an occasional thousand.

The source of this sluggishness is the strange conviction on the part of the White House Counsel that it would be unethical for the Administration to help private Thomas efforts. True, the Administration cannot aid the self-enrichment of direct-mail wizards. But no ethical rule prevents a senior White House official from calling the chairman of the Republican National Committee and saying, "Claytie, we need a top-dollar effort on behalf of Clarence. See that someone does it." The phone calls that would result from that phone call would be all that was needed to start the checks flowing to the pro-Thomas groups in some sort of proportionality to those that are already flowing to the Left.

Clarence Thomas will probably win. But he could lose. Now is the time to make sure it's we and not they who get to write the how-we-did-it books.

A Deafening Silence

LEONARD JEFFRIES, Chairman of Black Studies at the City University of New York, kicked up a fuss with his speech to a Black Arts Festival in Albany earlier this summer. The case has been so widely publicized that there is no need here to cite his remarks at any length. But a few samples: The Sephardic Jews of Spain played an important role in the slave trade (they had been expelled from Spain long before). Jews named "Greenberg and Weisberg and . . . whatnot" presided over "a conspiracy out of Hollywood" to smear blacks.

In his classroom at City College (we depend on press reports), Jeffries propounds a black-supremacy theory, in which whites are Ice People—cruel, cold, and imperialistic—while Blacks are loving Sun People—warm, peaceable, and communal. He notoriously celebrated the *Challenger II* disaster: it might slow the space program and "stop whites from spreading their filth through the universe."

It is difficult to decide whether Jeffries is a crank or a cynic who sees profit in extremism. But more significant than his outrageous remarks is the reception they have received. A great silence has come from two quarters: the vast majority of black leaders and the academy. Black state representatives in Albany refused to sign a petition which condemned Jeffries's speech. The Black Caucus in Congress remains silent. In the New York City Council, black members blocked a motion condemning Jeffries's racism. What we see here is tribalism. The group is everything, the truth nothing. Even qualified black academics at Harvard and other Ivy League universities have been silent in the face of Jeffries's torrent

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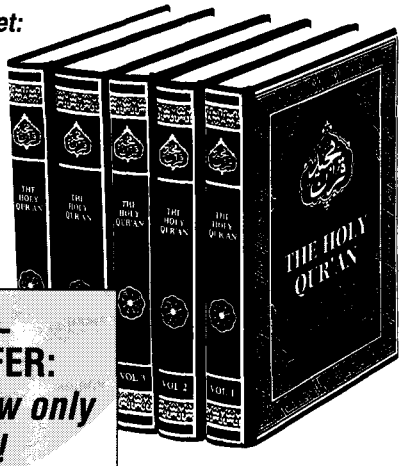

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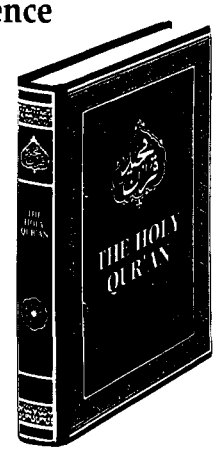

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of nonsense. Would black scientists remain silent if Professor Jeffries propounded phrenology or the phlogiston theory? The question can no longer be dismissed as absurd.

But it is every bit as significant that academics generally have remained silent. Jeffries's violent anti-Semitism ought to be bad enough. But he has also violated every rule of scholarship involving evidence and argument. So far as we know, however, not a single prominent historian has spoken out and no faculty resolutions have been passed. No matter what Jeffries says or does, the fact that he is black seems to provide him with immunity from criticism.

All of this is alarming both morally and intellectually. There is a large gap in the American critical intelligence. It seems that we cannot deal honestly with questions into which race intrudes and accordingly tolerate what would otherwise be denounced as contemptible ravings. Neither good relations between the races nor a sense of common citizenship can be sustained in such a poisoned atmosphere.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

From a correspondent in Stockholm comes confirmation that comparisons of New York City's governance to Sweden's were not exaggerated. He reports that Olof Palme's killer is still at large and that incarceration is ineffective. In early May the two most closely guarded prisoners in the Special Ward at the Kumla prison tied together some sheets and escaped while the guard was escorting a third prisoner to the toilet. Apparently this is all part of the Great Plan; after the escape, the head of Sweden's prisons explained that "there must be a possibility for the prisoners to escape."

"That's not how you feel," writes my friend, "after having had your car stolen four times and your home broken into three times in three years."

Yours truly,
Seán Fitzpatrick
Johnson City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Fitzpatrick: There must be a possibility for the prisoners to escape? Kindly ask your correspondent to dilate on that. It is very interesting. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your magazine has been a favorite of mine for many years. I have been challenged and inspired by the contents, and appreciate the conservative position for which it stands. Recently, however, my appreciation has grown exponentially.

In the January 28, 1991, issue a small, well written personal ad appeared which began "Your dream girl is waiting." I had never theretofore responded to a "personal," yet this one was so cleverly and thoughtfully written I felt compelled to respond. A few weeks later I received a letter from the woman who placed the ad; she in Atlanta, I in Grand Haven, Michigan. We began corresponding by letter and by phone. Since then we have flown back and forth, our relationship growing steadily. Her most recent visit was over July 4, and while she was here, we set a wedding date of October 19. We are very much in love and both marvel at the manner in which we were brought together.

As you might guess, we both feel a special warmth and affection for you as the person who had a vital part to play in bringing us together. We were both subscribers to *NR*, but now we'll surely be lifelong devotees of the magazine.

Thanks to you for bringing me my "dream girl." Best wishes to you, your family, and NATIONAL REVIEW.

Cordially,
Russell D. Longcore
Grand Haven, Mich.

Dear Mr. Longcore: The entire staff joins me in congratulating you and your dream girl, and your family to come. I wish all 150,000 of us could join you at the ceremony. Cordially, WFB

■ Memo to: WFB
From: John O'Sullivan

Bill: Here's one for you to cope with. John

Dear Mr. O'Sullivan:

Please find enclosed a copy of a notice/advertisement we placed in *Human Events*, the purpose of which is to initiate a ground roots sentiment for the proposition that William F. Buckley Jr. deserves a Nobel Peace Prize.

Because our group is active in pursuing the Nobel Prize for Buckley, any assistance which could be provided would further this endeavor. In that regard, could you provide a cost estimate of placing the enclosed notice in NATIONAL REVIEW?

Yours truly,
Richard L. Harris
Caldwell, Idaho

Dear Mr. Harris: Mr. O'Sullivan has passed along your kind letter. It is very thoughtful of you to nominate me for a Nobel Prize. Unhappily, I am not qualified, because the by-laws specify that no relative of the king can be put in nomination, and King Oscar II and my grandmother were, how shall we put it? Someone would be sure to argue that there are genetic reasons for my accomplishments. What I write is of course in confidence. Cordially, **—WFB**

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THE MOSCOW COUP

The Beginning of the End

NR *Interviews Robert Conquest*

WHY did the coup come now? Was it inevitable?

The choice of date was presumably based on preventing the signature of the new Union Treaty. The coupists thus instantly alienated even those nations which were ready to remain within a reformed confederation. Their evident aim is to restore the old bureaucratic empire, in both its bureaucratic and its imperial aspects. It was not inevitable, in the sense that the plot might have been detected and exposed in time. It was doubtless inevitable in the sense that this group saw its last chance evaporating unless it took action at once.

Do the hard-liners have a program? What do they represent?

They don't really have a program in the sense of a way of coping with the country's real problems. Their manifesto was a lot of hot air about saving the USSR from such things as ruin and chaos. But on the programmatic side it amounted to first, as I said, the crushing of nationalist secession movements; secondly, a praise of *perestroika* as it was first conceived—that is, the useless policies of restoring the economy through disciplinary measures. Third, the suppression of profiteering—which in context means destroying the profit motive.

What they stand for is thus a know-nothing belief in the evil of self-determination, the immorality of market economics, the worthlessness of democracy, and the virtues of force.

The coup's organizers are simply the heads of the army and the two police ministries, fronted for by a cardboard nonentity giving some sort of a claim to constitutional forms. It is a striking fact that the serious *politicians* among Gorbachev's opponents, in particular Ligachev, are not (or are not yet) involved. This leaves two police professionals and a soldier, and their manifesto, as I have said, is just the stereotyped military-coup proclamation which might be found anywhere in the world—not even appealing to socialism and Marxism. As elsewhere, the stress is on the idea of a patriotic soldiery single-mindedly saving the people from the machinations of corrupt civilians. But this Man on the White Horse stuff sits ill with Kryuchkov and Pugo and Yazov's years of petty intrigue at the heart of politics. Nor is there any single charismatic figure among this group of aging hacks, able to ride that metaphorical steed down the Red Square and around the Kremlin. The coup scene more resembles the gaggle of yokels on Tom Pearse's grey mare.

What are the prospects, long and short term, for this coup? Can the new rulers restore the old system?

These questions come in the immediate aftermath of the coup, when the situation is still very fluid and our knowledge very incomplete. By the time *NR* hits the stands, things will certainly be clearer. At the moment there are still several possible scenarios. The coup might simply collapse. A general strike or mass strikes (if Yeltsin can bring them about) could prove fatal. General strikes have spoiled coups in the past—the Kapp Putsch in Berlin, for example. Or support within their own instruments of power might crumble. Or they might (or one or another of them might) simply lose their nerve: they are playing with fire, and they know it.

It is, on the other hand, possible that they might, with whatever difficulty, and with whatever ruthlessness, consolidate their position in a fairly short period. They would then as a government face all the problems that their predecessors faced, with a few more created by their own conduct. With no serious ideas about how to cope, they would soon find themselves in the quicksand.

More probably, whatever their initial successes, they might become involved in an escalating cycle of violence, or even in a civil war, as many Russians have been predicting. But resistance strong enough to produce that outcome would be very hard to suppress. Whichever way it goes, their prospects appear slim.

Meanwhile we cannot exclude a compromise solution, with Gorbachev returning to his post under various constraints from the current junta, which would lead to another round of the struggle.

As to any true restoration of the old system, it seems impossible on several grounds. Economically, the traditional Soviet command economy was precisely what ruined the country and in fact is still doing so. To strengthen it, and weaken the incipient market, would only result in more disintegration.

Then again, the Marxist idea has been intellectually destroyed in the USSR; the target of a utopia, so necessary to the totalitarian mind, is rejected by almost everyone. And politically, reinstatement of the old order would require a Stalin, or something in that line, not the current bunch of third-raters.

Where will resistance come from?

The peripheral Republics will, of course, be centers of resistance. The crushing of the Baltic states is high on the coup agenda: but guerrilla forces even there fought the might of Stalin's empire for five years after World War II. And while it might be easy to overrun flat territories like Estonia, Georgia, with its many armed men and its mountains, is a potential Afghanistan. And all the other Republics, like the Ukraine, will be thrown into strong resistance of one sort or another.

But there will also be major resistance in Russia itself, as that country's elected president, Boris Yeltsin, has made clear. The first attempt at reaction, earlier this year, was defeated by the huge demonstrations in Moscow, but perhaps more importantly by the great miners' strike, with its democratic demands. If this happened again, it would be hard to imagine Russian soldiers firing on Russian miners.

Mr. Conquest is the distinguished Sovietologist and author of a forthcoming biography of Stalin.

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Then there is the educated class, including the huge majority of journalists and media people. To which it may be added that the students, like most of the rest of their generation, though detesting the system, have hitherto been fairly apathetic politically. I would expect the coup to change that, and provide valuable recruits to the resistance.

How important is Boris Yeltsin?

At the moment Yeltsin is the key to the whole crisis, though of course he is vulnerable to assassination, apart from anything else. He has shown courage and initiative in calling for a strike and in ordering the army to obey him in the absence of other legal authority. Gorbachev, if he survives and remains firm, will be wholly in Yeltsin's camp, along with all the other leading reformers.

What will be the effects on the armed forces? the KGB? the structure of repression in general?

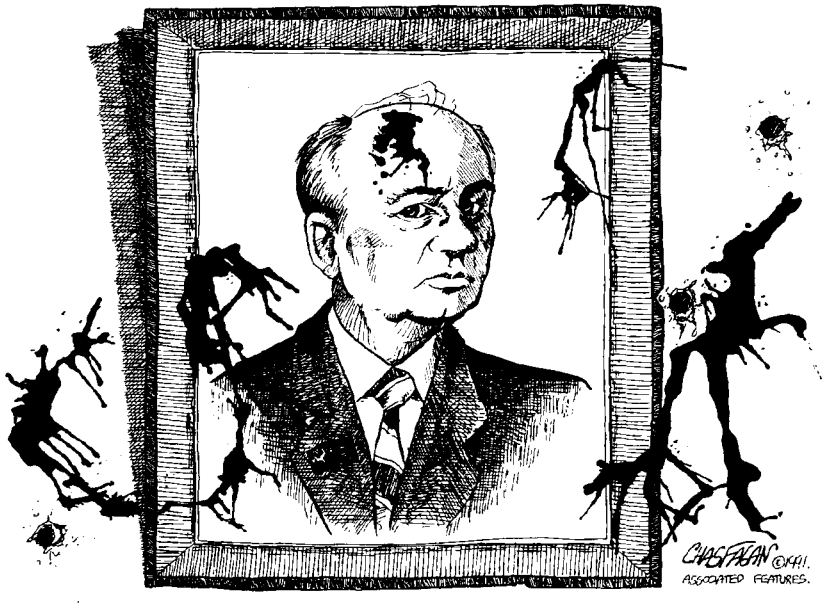
Some of the army's units are already disobeying orders to move against the Yeltsinites. It seems very probable that important sections of it, up to and including some commanding generals, will resist the top leadership. As for the KGB, there are certainly elements within it which have been sympathetic to the democrats. Though we know very little about the opinions, or even the effective powers, of its leading cadres, most of them, at least, take the hard line, and provide the most reliable forces the coupists dispose of.

How will this coup affect the Communist Party's future?

If it fails it will probably be seen as the last stand of the traditionalists. If it succeeds, or if it produces civil war, it will run the country further into the ground and again be remembered for its sins alone.

Do you see any similarities to the 1981 crackdown in Poland?

Yes, the mechanics of the Polish coup have long since been reported as the subject of fascinated discussion within the Soviet high command. We may see the Polish technique over the next days or weeks—keeping the main body of the army back in reserve, and using only the special police corps for active moves against the citizenry. In the USSR, this would mean OMON, the Spetsnaz, and similar units. But to take on a much larger, more diverse country may lead to the deployment being far too thin. General Jaruzelski had other advantages. He had only to arrest a few score of leaders of a single institution who were, moreover, taken entirely by surprise. In the Soviet Union, organized democracy and local nationalism are far more diverse and many-headed.



Can the West affect the outcome?

To some degree. If the situation remains at all fluid, we can affect the waverers by making clear that a regime based on the coup will produce on our side complete political disapproval, military rearmament, and a lack of economic assistance. The suppression of Baltic independence, an international issue, can be heavily campaigned against at the UN and elsewhere. The Western leadership is now showing commendable firmness after a shaky start.

What becomes of the arms-control treaties and the agreements to withdraw from Eastern Europe?

Soviet cheating over the arms-control treaties (for what they are worth) has of late been largely done by the armed forces. If these control the government, they will do it more freely. Voices on the Soviet reactionary side have openly deplored the withdrawal from Germany and Eastern Europe, though it is hard to see how this could now be halted, except perhaps temporarily, for the nuisance value. The Soviets may, however, revert to highly deleterious policies in the Middle East, and this is a grave danger.

Should we continue to treat Gorbachev as president?

As Shevardnadze has said, unless Gorbachev is produced in public there is no reason to believe the official story of his voluntary relinquishment of power and he should be treated as still president. If he has been put out of action, the natural Western retort is to recognize fully the status of the president of Russia as the surviving constitutional leader.

Does Russian history offer any precedents?

There were several military coups in the eighteenth century, but only to remove one despot in favor of another. The last time the army turned out was in the attempted coup, in 1825, by the Decembrists, in favor of a constitution. In 1953 Beria flooded Moscow with police troops on Stalin's death, while his opponents moved their own units into the capital when he in turn was driven from power. In 1957 the then Minister of Defense, Marshal Zhukov, told the leadership that the army would intervene if they did not settle the crisis on his own terms. None of these events are really parallel to today's.

What are the lessons for the West?

I suppose: don't exclude exotic possibilities from your scenarios of the future of Russia—or of anywhere else. If you are a student, switch from political science to history.

What was Gorbachev's main mistake?

He was walking a tightrope for five years and no doubt became overconfident. More basically, he just underestimated the regressive and primitive nature of his would-be successors. □

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ON THE SCENE

Targeting Thomas

WILLIAM McGURN

Tim Bower

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WITHIN hours of Ronald Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, Senator Edward Kennedy declared war. "Robert Bork's America," he thundered, "is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists could be censored at the whim of government, and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens."

This was not just some eccentric academic Reagan was trying to put on the Court, Kennedy was saying: this was the Great Satan himself. The senator knew exactly what he was doing. Given Judge Bork's impeccable credentials and obvious fitness for the office to which he had been nominated, nothing short of an outrageous campaign to blacken his name could have brought him down. It was a textbook example of Saul Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals*. Attack the man, not the issue.

Four years later, most of the same groups that led the charge against Judge Bork have lined up against Clarence Thomas: the NAACP, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Organization of Women, the Mexican–American Legal Defense Fund, and so on. But there's a difference this time. With the exception of a few preposterous statements from the black establishment [see "On the Right," page 54], Clarence Thomas has not been demonized. And it's not likely to happen, either. "It's hard to vilify Clarence," says Antonia Hernandez of the Mexican–American Legal Defense Fund. "I know him, and I know he's a good man, and he shouldn't be attacked on personal grounds. It's a complex issue, because there are some people within the community of color who say that because he's black that should be sufficient."

Although it's far too early to call Thomas a shoe-in—remember, until midway through Bork's hearings everyone thought he'd make it—the campaign against him just hasn't taken off. In sharp contrast to their treatment of Bork, no senator has opposed him outright (though Alan Cranston and Howard Metzenbaum have said they will oppose him unless he answers favorably on *Roe* v. *Wade*); indeed, he has cover from Southern Democrats like Sam Nunn (Ga.), moderate to liberal Republicans like John Danforth (Mo.), and of course conservatives on both sides of the aisle. Though Administration officials refuse to give a head count, when you add up the bits and pieces it looks in the range of seventy for, thirty against. The number might become even more lopsided if it becomes apparent he's going to win. Judge Thomas is a young man, and not too many senators are going to want to be remembered years from now as one of the reactionaries who voted against him.

The other thing Thomas has going for him is that he is just not Robert Bork. Bork was well known before his appointment, and his very name was a hot button to liberal activists. The day after his nomination, Lou Cannon reported in the *Washington Post* that "even before Reagan made the announcement, civil-rights and pro-abortion groups were mobilizing to block Bork." In Thomas's case, the visuals are overriding the criticism. His obvious normality and decency shine through on the television screen, and with his Horatio Alger rise from Pinpoint, Georgia, he is a difficult person to attack.

"Look, America is a very decent country and its people are really trying their best to put race behind them," says Leroy D. Clark, a law professor at Catholic University and a board member of the ACLU. "Clarence Thomas is going to have an easier ride because whites are just not happy about the prospect of attacking a black man and black people aren't going to attack him because of group solidarity."

The result is that Thomas's critics are looking more and more like defenders of special interests rather than champions of equal rights; their image was not enhanced when the national office of the NAACP moved to squelch the Compton, California, branch that had voted unanimously in Thomas's favor. More to the point, that's the way they're being treated by the press. How else to explain the *New York Times*'s relegating coverage of a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights press conference to page D-20?

Leadership Conference Executive Director Ralph Neas is pretty straight-

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington bureau chief.*

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forward about the problem of a Teflon nominee. "There is a tension between the White House's focusing on Thomas's admirable personal life to the exclusion of all else and the coalition's attempt to point out issues that ought to be of concern to senators looking at a nominee for the Supreme Court of the United States," says Neas. "I'm surprised there has been as much opposition as we have, given this public-relations campaign."

Dan Fleshler, a spokesman for the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund, agrees: "There's been very little substantive analysis of the issues in the papers of record—and I include the *New York Times*." When the civil-rights community starts to sound like Accuracy in Media, something has changed.

To be sure, the idea of these people complaining that all the focus has been on Thomas's personal story has a whiff of the old tale of the fellow who kills his parents and then begs for mercy on the grounds that he's an orphan. After all, these are the same people who made "Bork" a verb. They also assure us that the high approval ratings Thomas continues to get in the black community will drop once they are able to "educate the public," the idea being that people are incapable of making a reasoned decision until the liberal tablets come down from Mt. Sinai.

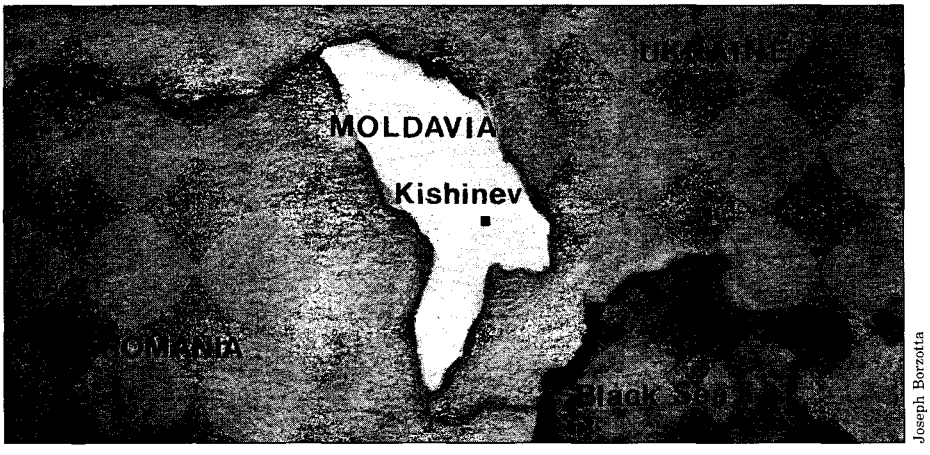
The smarter ones in the community, however—and most of them *are* smart—recognize that Bork was not the victory it first appeared. "Everyone learned lessons from Bork," says Lisa Navarrete of the National Council for La Raza. "The White House obviously learned, the public learned, and we learned. Focusing too much on a person has plusses and minuses. Focusing too much on a person's ideology can come back to haunt you. This is going to be very different."

It already is. A month away from the hearings, the civil-rights community lacks a unified front, and the public bickering—between the national and local offices of the NAACP, between the NAACP and leaders like the Reverend Joseph Lowery—suggests it's not going to pull together. If the hearings go badly Thomas might still be denied his seat. But it's obvious from talking with even his fiercest critics that it's now Clarence Thomas's game to lose.

"I think the Thomas nomination was a stroke of political genius," says Professor Clark. "Bush knew, or at least his advisors knew, that it would confound the liberal community even despite Thomas's thin credentials." He laughs. "It would be funny if it weren't so serious." □

Secession Blues

GEORGE BERKIN



Joseph Borzotta

KISHINEV

FOR YEARS, the center of Kishinev was dominated by two statues: one of Lenin, in front of the house of government, and another, a few hundred yards away, of the Moldavian national saint, St. Stephen the Great, his raised cross and fierce visage dominating a public plaza. In June the city fathers voted to remove Lenin from his pedestal, but before the order could be carried out, the Interior Ministry back in Moscow ordered a 24-hour guard. A compromise was eventually reached: Lenin was not demolished, but he was removed to the National Economic Achievements Exhibition on the outskirts of the town.

The failure of Lenin's ideology, playing itself out so spectacularly today, is speeded along by the rise of nationalism—though here in the Republic of Moldova (formerly the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia), nationalism has grown largely unnoticed by the West. Two-thirds of the Republic's 4.3 million inhabitants are ethnically Moldavian—which is to say Rumanian. The Russian-speaking third of the population are largely the descendants of people settled here by the central governments of czars and commissars to "Russify" the area.

The official language has been Russian, and even Moldavian/Rumanian-speakers had been forced to use the Cyrillic alphabet rather than the traditional Latin one. Russian-speakers rarely learned Moldavian; Moldavians wanting to participate in public life, political or intellectual, had to learn Russian.

Until now. Two years ago, the local parliament, dominated by the Moldavian Popular Front, declared that Moldavian would be the public language after a ten-year transition period. The Latin alphabet was restored. Street signs became bilingual. The *Evening Kishinev* inaugurated a Moldavian edition, which now sells as well as the Russian edition. Schools began teaching the national poets. Moldavian-speakers began moving into positions of authority.

For Russians, this is a bitter pill. The new (bilingual) Moldavian editors at the *Evening Kishinev* fired most of the (monolingual) Russian-speaking staff. But the Russians suffer from more than a former privilege becoming a liability. "Russians are used to being the older brother," says Viktor Shimanovsky, a Russian-speaking journalist who kept his job.

The sensitivity of a third of its population is one reason Moldova has tiptoed toward independence, declaring sovereignty in June of 1990 but holding back from a total break with Moscow. While President Mircea Sne-

Mr. Berkin is a freelance journalist traveling in the Soviet Union.

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gur refused to sign Mr. Gorbachev's Union Treaty, he accepted observer status, unlike Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.

Another reason for moderation was fear of the sort of violence that the central authorities unleashed in the Baltics—tanks, paratroopers, mysterious assassins. A third was economic: primarily an agricultural region, Moldova depends heavily on oil and natural gas shipped in from Russia. But the biggest reason was the practical difficulties of creating a new nation-state. The area has almost never been self-governing; when not controlled by Russians (or, in ages past, Turks), it has been a part of Rumania. Of course, while the only "legal" basis for Soviet rule is the Hitler–Stalin Pact, Moldavians may have been better off under Brezhnev (Party chief here in the Fifties) than under Ceausescu. One disagreement even within the Popular Front is the question of an independent Moldova versus "reunification" with Rumania.

Thus, Russian-speakers legitimately fear becoming a powerless minority. While a Moldavian will say he didn't invite the Russians in, most of them cannot simply leave: survival in a society where everyone gets goods "on the left" depends on long-term ties. Though President Snegur promises that Russian-speakers won't be replaced wholesale in government jobs —"We don't want war," an aide explained—it is nearly impossible to find monolingual speakers of Russian who support independence. Indeed, Russians use classic Communist epithets—"hooligans," "extremists"—to denounce the Popular Front.

And how far does the right to secede go? Last November Tiraspol, Moldavia's second largest city, where about 80 per cent of the population is Russian, declared itself independent of Moldova; its new Trans-Dniesteran Republic intends to remain in the Union. A month earlier, the Gagauz, a Turkish people (about 3 per cent of Moldova's population, concentrated in some twenty villages), declared *their* independence.

Some saw Moscow's hand in this, claiming many of the so-called Gagauz were in fact Soviet soldiers. Others say that the Soviet soldiers who did appear, after the Moldavian government foolishly sent in troops of its own, came "honestly" and left quickly, lingering only for that most Soviet of reasons, inadequate transport home.

There is division even in the Popular Front. President Snegur's go-slow policy has been challenged by a more radical parliamentary faction. Mircea Druc, leader of the impatient faction, was ousted as prime minister in May, voted out by a rump parliament. He is expected to oppose Snegur in the next presidential election—one reason, perhaps, why the election has not yet been scheduled. Another reason: the election was to be accompanied by a plebiscite on independence—where a "yes" vote would enrage Moscow.

Snegur's was probably the best answer to these many problems (though it is too early to guess how it might have to be modified in the wake of the coup): move slowly toward freedom, while hoping a free economy will reduce ethnic tensions. In a June issue of the liberal Soviet weekly *Arguments and Facts*, Snegur warns that USSR-wide disaster is avoidable only by a quick move to a market economy. He is leading his Republic out of the Union, and into the market. Since declaring sovereignty, parliament has been writing laws establishing free-market relations and privatizing collective farms. "If we have two or three years of quiet," opines Nikolae Meniuc, an editor at the *Evening Kishinev*, "we'll make it. The Kremlin knows this." Right now, quiet seems all too unlikely. □

Fighting for the Union

TOM BETHELL

Jennifer Lawson

SACRAMENTO

"IT'S A KIND of bigotry that I'm witnessing here," said Joseph Farah, who has been editor of the *Sacramento Union* for a year. "I can't make a move without being scrutinized by the watchdogs of the media." He's a conservative, putting out what he believes is one of the few conservative daily papers in the country. (He mentions the *Indianapolis Star*, the *Birmingham News*, and the *Washington Times*.) Soon after Farah took over as editor, his paper was attacked in a column by the Sacramento bureau chief of the *San Diego Union*, supposedly also conservative. "In fact," said Farah, "there isn't a dime's worth of difference between the two San Diego papers." The latest attack came in the *San Francisco Examiner*, by columnist Stephanie Salter. She called Farah "the kind of fundamentalist who's helped to give Christianity a bum rap." Farah is a Presbyterian, but he does go to church, which is perhaps what she meant.

The paper had been losing money for years and its circulation was down to sixty thousand when two local property developers bought it in 1989. It is said to be the oldest daily newspaper west of the Mississippi. The building is near the state capitol, and in the lobby there's a huge bust of Mark Twain, who worked there briefly in 1866. One of the owners, who is associated with a six-thousand-member evangelical church in Sacramento, laid down several "guiding principles" for the editorial department. He praised capitalism, cautioned against big government, asserted that "all legitimate and inalienable rights are endowed by the Creator," and warned that "it is wrong to murder the innocent," including the "pre-born." And he hired a conservative editor—Joe Farah, 37, formerly with the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, and still the editor and associate publisher of *Be-*

Mr. Bethell, an NR *Contributing Editor, is Washington correspondent for* The American Spectator.

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tween the Lines, a conservative "watchdog on politics of the news media and Hollywood."

The news staff was trimmed to save money. A front-page column was added (soon to be syndicated) by the conservative radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh. Reporters began to quit, and it wasn't long before the news media set up their baying and howling. Whatever the First Amendment might say, here was a newspaper that was not respecting news-media proprieties. "Since the 1920s," wrote Daniel Carson in the *San Diego Union*, "most newspapers have attempted to keep news stories from being colored by the owners' outlook." Yet these new owners had "allowed the historic daily to become a mouthpiece for the fundamentalist Christian Right." Actually had allowed it. Each day brought its "bizarre new episode," Carson added. Hard to believe, but within the sacrosanct news department itself, Farah had "altered a news story." The National Organization of Women should be identified as a "radical feminist group," Farah had decreed. "Pro-choice" and "pro-life" were to be replaced by the (more objective) "pro-abortion" and "anti-abortion."

THE *Washington Post*'s Howie Kurtz was on the case right away. Sure enough, he found another violation of the sanctity of the newsroom. Farah had told a reporter that retiring Supreme Court Justice William Brennan should be identified as having "consistently struck down all legal protections of the unborn." Furthermore, he had banned the use of the word "gay," insisting on "homosexual." Caught *in flagrante*, you might say. Farah's "approach to social-agenda issues" had "prompted an exodus of veteran staffers who complain that conservative bias is distorting the news coverage," Kurtz added. (Farah says he wanted them to work harder, not just cover press conferences.)

Journalists today are so hemmed in by stylebooks and unwritten rules, the spirit of David Broder perched eternally on their shoulders and whispering "Caution!" into their ears, that they love to invoke a Golden Age of "feisty" editors and "crusading" reporters—a world uproarious, and yet sternly principled at the same time. As to the latter, modern journalists must make professions of neutrality and objectivity, which they mostly don't believe in. They fancy themselves free-form dancers, but act like a chorus line. And here in their midst was an editor kicking up the right leg while they were all kicking up the left. Such indignation and scrutiny! The *Los Angeles Times* had a man on the story for two and a half months, according to Farah. The *Columbia Journalism Review* ran a story by a former employee who quoted an anonymous source as saying he was "embarrassed to work for a paper that Mark Twain wouldn't last two weeks on."

"I think Mark Twain would be proud of this newspaper today," Farah told me. "We're bucking the establishment and making waves." All over the country, daily journalism has its predictable built-in assumptions and unexamined premises, he said, and he would like to change them. Or at least make journalists aware of them. Take the *Sacramento Bee*, the *Union*'s cross-town competitor, with perhaps five times the circulation and staff. Its liberal editorial philosophy extends to its news columns, Farah said, just as it does in almost every other paper in the country. The "bias" that journalists object to in the *Union* should be called "incorrect bias." For example, judging domestic government spending by its intentions rather than its results is a deeply entrenched newsroom prejudice. Farah pointed out that the *Bee*'s front-page "analysis" of the Supreme Court term just ended was headlined: "This Term's Big Losers: Defendants." In unpremeditated counterpoint, the *Union*'s read: "Victims' Suffering to Carry More Weight."

Farah would like to scrutinize everything the state legislature does. With the California budget having increased from $23 billion a decade ago to $55 billion today, it's high time someone did. The problem is that he has so few reporters—about twenty for all sections of the paper. Nonetheless, the *Union* published an investigative series on state education chief Bill Honig, suggesting that he has used his influence to help a non-profit corporation run by his wife. But with the exception of the *Los Angeles Times*, Farah said, newspapers in the state have shown little interest in pursuing the story. Honig is as dedicated to the expansion of state power as most journalists. In Honig's case this makes sense. But why do journalists place so much faith in an institution they so rigorously exclude from their own affairs?

"They don't love government power across the board," Farah replied, citing Lichter–Rothman polling of media elites. "They think government should redistribute wealth and they think poverty can be eliminated that way. With education they simply believe the California Teachers' Association: 'More dollars are the answer.' But they are very critical of defense spending, and when they were asked by Lichter and Rothman, 'Do you think the government should regulate sex?' 90 per cent said no."

It's the paper's nonconformism on issues of morality that really arouses the witch-hunting, name-calling instinct. (Wacko right-wing extremist Joe-McCarthy-was-right zealous narrow angry fundamentalist, are some of the labels I have culled from the clips.) The paper refuses advertising for movies that bear the NC-17 rating, a new category excluding those under 17. Films so labeled "are nothing more than X-rated films with a polite new name," Farah said. He is strongly anti-abortion, and the paper also opposes a bill banning "discrimination" against lesbians and homosexuals that recently passed the state Assembly. Governor Deukmejian wisely vetoed it, but Pete Wilson ("a disaster for Republicans and for conservatives," Farah said) may sign it. Farah has also refused to meet with the extremist group ACT-UP, and a year ago homosexuals went on a rampage, destroying *Union* newspaper boxes in the city.

Farah is an intelligent, self-confident young man, but he has a difficult job to do. Circulation dropped soon after the paper changed hands, but then went up again. Now it seems to be steady. A lot is at stake, he pointed out. Earlier he successfully instituted comparable reforms at a suburban paper in Glendale, California. But that paper was too obscure to bring out the enforcers of a true, correct, orthodox press, with Strict Separation of News and Opinion. In Sacramento? "If we fail, there's going to be a lot of finger-pointing," Farah said. "People in the media will say: 'See what happens if you step out of line? There's no support for a conservative paper.' But I'm very optimistic. It's going to work." □

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WHAT MAKES PEOPLE GOOD?

We can't 'make people good,' but we can, as a society, create conditions that will help them to be better—or the reverse.

DAVID MARTIN

A LOT of people, probably most, would like most people to be good, or at least better. I assume this entirely from persistent hearsay, because although pollsters have asked people if they are happy, no pollster, at least to my knowledge, has asked:

Would you like mankind to be better?

Very much better? Perfect?

What would be your response to more goodness? Dismay? Modest approval? Passionate enthusiasm?

We lack this information mainly because calls for more evil and larger legions of unashamed malefactors are so infrequent. Nobody demands a more robust and invigorating tilt in favor of evil or feels it would be so much nicer if people were nastier. Presumably that is why, when George Bush called for a kinder, gentler country, no enterprising columnist nailed him for misjudging public sentiment. Everyone stays on board the coalition against sin.

That must mean there is the largest possible market for any proposal to make people good. Yet one observes with tremulous astonishment that the market is virtually empty. Clearly we have an insatiable, universal demand for a good, perhaps indeed for *the* good. And yet no proposal presents itself. I for one find it extremely difficult to imagine a TV advertisement for NATIONAL REVIEW that would intone, "Do you suffer from greed, malice, pride, concupiscence, and all uncharitableness? In yourself? In others? Read NATIONAL REVIEW for a modest proposal."

But why not? What is it about goodness that there are virtually no proposals for its augmentation? The answer lies in two false ideas. One is that virtue is a "natural good" snuffed out by any attempt at assiduous cultivation. For example, if investigation showed people would be better were they sufficiently frightened of what happened when they were bad, a policy based on that finding would only "damage the goods." They wouldn't be as good as when they just came naturally.

Mr. Martin is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics.

Where Are the Relativists?

THE OTHER false idea condemning virtue to founder unassisted is the supposed disagreement about what is good. People say we have entered an era of moral anarchy and warring moral preferences. Yet the evidence of sociology and common sense is quite the contrary. According to the International Values Survey, we are mostly agreed about good and bad. Setting aside the unabated *practice* of false witness etc., etc., the *belief* in goodness is well nigh uniform. People are, it seems, adamantly opposed to lying, stealing, cheating, coveting, killing, and dishonoring their parents. The same goes for the moral details. Just imagine responses to the following questions: Grinding the faces of the poor, the widowed, and the fatherless is reprehensible/admirable. Drinking and driving is irresponsible/responsible. Causing a little child to stumble is perverse/life-enhancing. Poking a sharp shard in another person's eye is revolting/entertaining.

Of course, there are dilemmas about how to reconcile acknowledged goods. Peace and justice for example. And selective indignation ensures that we exculpate some groups and excoriate others. But a consistent moral relativist is hard to find. People are unwilling to evaluate each and every way of life from imperialism to societies sanctioning female infanticide as part of the charming and morally indifferent variety of culture.

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You can't get very far with an argument based on alternative life-stances when it comes to infibulation. Indeed, in liberal company, where tolerance and moral relativism are supposed to be the order of the day, you are continually confronted by a noble rage about the delinquent condition of the world. Here is little else but moral passion for purity: pure jokes, pure speech, pure earth, sky, and sea, pure food and pure bodies, even undiluted equality.

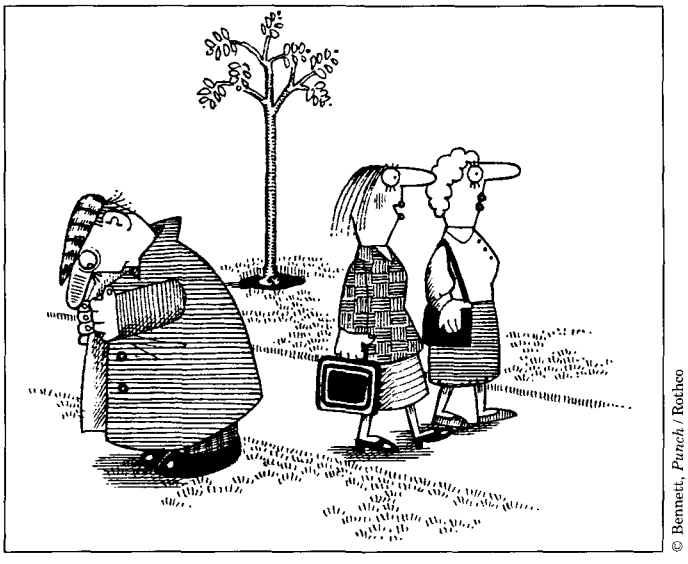
What Good Does It Do?

ON THE other hand liberals do entertain certain notions which divert attention from "what makes people good" and even render suspect proposals for the encouragement of virtue. According to one notion, goodness is primarily inhibited by social structures, and will be naturally exhibited when these are reformed or overturned. Goodness, so to speak, is a dependent variable, and politically doesn't "do much good." Nowadays this half-truth may be on its way out, especially after the Eastern European regimes have so convincingly illustrated the state organization of lies and mistrust, and their people have had to look elsewhere, even to churches, for the independent generation of virtue. Vaclav Havel, after prolonged suffering under a regime of organized and principled lying, has even dared to espouse truthfulness as central to his political program. But the implications of this restoration of virtue for moral education in the West are slow to sink in. Besides, how exactly *do* you encourage truthfulness if it neither comes naturally nor is generated by the abolition of bourgeois society?

The other notion blocking proposals to help make people good is a secular version of Christianity. It takes off in a thoroughly amiable fashion from an attempt to reverse the balance of denunciation in favor of the victims of history and society. As a result you are not "saved" and "justified" *by* a Victim, as in orthodox Christianity, but by *being* yourself a victim. Victimage opens up an unlimited credit line absolving you of all responsibility for the past and for the future. Indeed, in some versions this theology holds that the *only* responsible and guilty people are the rulers of the present American empire or the descendants of the British ex-empire. It follows that you can express a moral opinion only provided you first certify your status as a qualified victim or bow before all approved victims in silent humility.

This is very serious, because it encourages liberal moral education to turn away from the demanding disciplines of virtue to the seductively easy acquisition of nice attitudes, especially attitudes toward victimage. After all, the vast majority of humankind has a claim to victimage and so to non-responsibility and the unlimited credit line. This status is especially useful if we are about to set up as oppressors on our own account. The history (and misleading name) of Liberia is a terrible warning. As for the consequences for whatever it is that "makes people good," these are pretty clear. We can face down the requirements of virtue by citing our status as victims and telling our hard-luck story. Even Saddam Hussein tried it.

But supposing we repudiate the moral license granted by this credit line, and also know perfectly well that goodness doesn't come naturally or even in any straightforward way by social rearrangements, how do we devise a modest proposal for its modest encouragement? Modest, of course, it has to be, since we must never go beyond the marginal improvement of the "average sensual man." Sanctity and heroism must be left to heaven. To help make people good, or (better) to help *them* to "make good," is first of all to diminish any gross advantages accruing to greed and malice. That requires, as a necessary *though far from sufficient* condition, the firm exercise of authority and the deployment of fear—that is, sanctions. No civil or civilized society significantly larger than Tristan da Cunha can exist



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"I must say, I find the introverts less threatening."

without the exercise of authority, meaning a graduated distribution of executive power.

In one sense this is too obvious to mention, but it is necessary to do so because the obvious is strictly unmentionable according to the contemporary Index of Prohibited Concepts and Words. Even if everyone in civilized society knows that civilized society depends on authority and sanctions, civilized society does not allow this to be said. This is a serious restriction (and a patent misuse of authority and sanctions) because it encourages social science to avoid serious analyses of taboo areas, and because what is not allowed to be said often hamstrings what has to be done, or ensures that what is done comes too little and too late.

The underlying problem is the high-minded feeling that these necessary conditions for people to "make good" are not good enough. Put it another way: since authority has in the past been an engine to promote every kind of oppression, it is somehow impolite to notice that it is also an unavoidable requirement for the promotion of goodness. The goods of liberty and equality, for instance, are specifically dependent on the exer-

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cise of authority, and indeed the proponents of equality demand deployments of authority and fear far beyond what is proposed here. The logical extension of their aims is Hoxha's Albania, where even clothing was equalized and made "uniform" by fiat. What I propose is only a limited but secure exercise of authority in home, school, and society, to ensure an open social space for the disposition to good and a more restricted space for the disposition to ill.

This is the minimum costing of whatever it is that makes people good. If you think that you can get it more cheaply, and so preserve your access to nice words, nice concepts, and appealing stances, reality will exact an even higher price.

A Home for Virtue

THE CASE for authority and sanctions is a case for the enforcement of rules. Goodness is more achievable where good habits rest on good order and clear expectations. Chaos is an enemy of the practice of virtue, and confusion a breeding ground of cumulative evil. That does not imply that we should, as Hilaire Belloc satirically put it,

Hold tight to nurse
For fear of something worse.

But the "peaceable commerce" of human beings one with another does depend on "degree," that is on graduated authority. Otherwise we are all prey to "appetite," the "universal wolf."

Only God can allow Satan to "go up and down upon the earth" wreaking what havoc he or she will. Only God can advance innocently toward evil to pay the cost of good directly in His own person. To imitate the innocent divine victim cannot be a matter of social policy, though it remains open to individual heroism at a particular exemplary moment. Indeed that exemplary moment is the most moving of all human demonstrations of the good, but it is not in the cognizance or remit of Caesar or society.

Anyone will recognize the menace of "appetite" and disorder who has had a child cruelly exposed in a playground where authority refuses to pre-empt the issue of bad behavior. Once accord to ill will a freedom properly accorded to good will, and good will begins to pass out of currency. It is not that people can or should be forced to be good, but that authority has to provide an opportunity for the good. Otherwise the decent are damaged and reduced to doubtful defensive strategies, while the indecent are confirmed in their indecency.

Virtue, then, is a reinforced *practice*, within the self and society. A good school is inevitably also a "school of goodness," recognized by the steady contented murmur of children doing what has become habitual and accepted without demur. Goodness flourishes where spaces and times are marked out for the regular practice of habitual, fraternal, and inoffensive activity. Only when this has been achieved can authority retire into the background to allow what is securely established to run on its own momentum. This is so obvious that it could only be ignored where people are afraid of fear, and authority unnerved by the label "authoritarian."

Of course authority can also be inimical to the good, and this is above all the case where government is arbitrary. Arbitrary government often neglects moral language and allows good and bad to be displaced by deviance and conformity or adjustment and maladjustment. "Maladjustment" looks non-judgmental, even coolly scientific, but it is a tool of naked and improper power. Once judgments are medical rather than moral it happens either that "pathological" is employed as a covert and sneaky form of moral disapproval, or that the human being is treated as an object. The most deadly aspect of psychological techniques for securing control is their evacuation of moral language, because once moral language goes out of common currency there is no ground for complaint. Dismiss justice as meaningless and there is no court of appeal.

I once attended a group called together by the British Secretary of State for Home Affairs to consider "what makes people good," though it wasn't phrased quite like that. A psychologist put up a proposal more designed (I thought) to make people perform than to enable them to be better. It *made* them good in a way that really did destroy the value and meaning of goodness. The psychologist remarked that the nervous system varied from person to person in its responsiveness to conditioning. Some people responded to a little, while others required a lot, before they would exhibit the required "behaviors." (A degradation of language usually accompanies the degradation of people.) The trick therefore was to test the variable response to conditioning at an early age and make sure those with poor responses received an adequate dose. I think the Home Secretary politely regretted certain problems of implementation and the cost of employing an adequate army of trained conditioners. He also implied the whole idea was morally objectionable.

Fostering Guilt

AT THE HEART of moral language is guilt, and guilt is to be firmly encouraged in any humane moral psychology. Guilt does not mean a kind of brooding disablement but simply a recognition that our actions have consequences, and could have been otherwise and better. People cannot "make good" unless they have been encouraged to recognize they are guilty. Guilt is moral truthfulness about the self, undeterred by excuses, especially the kind of excuse made available by popular psychology. To espouse guilt is to reject reliance on mechanistic talk of need and instinct in favor of recollection, evaluation, and scrutiny. It is also to reject the projection of blame elsewhere, on society or parents or circumstance. Of course, there are circumstances and there are needs to be taken into account, but "making good" depends on the recognition of fault and the possession of moral being.

It follows that the cure for guilt is not an explanation

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enabling the self to excuse actions in terms of a blind machine jerking and manipulating, but by confession and absolution (or telling and being released). Of course you have to be very careful whom you tell because confession invites blackmail. As for absolution it may come from the self, by inner compassionate pardon, but it comes best from authoritative pronouncement "speaking for" the impaired and fractured good. This means that people need first to be told they are free and then they have to be set free. Or rather we need to be addressed as free beings existing in a necessary and utterly familiar entanglement, from which we can in principle be released. This address restores the person and the moral universe simultaneously.

The best way to convey a world adequately stocked with good and evil is a story. People cast and recast themselves as they follow narratives and fables. I have now to admit that you can have too much of a good thing. As a child I browsed without proper restraint in my mother's Edwardian Sunday School prizes and came out sprayed with morality from head to foot. Even today when I read Mrs. Gaskell or George Eliot or Jane Austen I recall that relentless spray and start like a guilty thing. Moral tone can be just too high, precise, sensitive, and persistent to allow *"l'homme moyen sensuel"* to get out from under. The same is true of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Life can be too obviously framed between the rival powers of Vanity Fair and the Delectable Mountains, and the journey altogether too purposefully located "between this world and the next." But too exclusive a diet of *Pilgrim's Progress* is not today a frequent problem.

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"Do you think Henry VIII's image as a family man is being tarnished?"

Threat and Promise

FOR THOSE of tender years the best stories about the good are secretive and insinuating. Tolkien and C. S. Lewis create landscapes of threat and promise full of winding journeys and circuitous paths. The mountains and islands, human and animal figures, are alive with luminous attraction or repulsive menace and also include unstable human-like compounds that have "good *in* them." Once these imaginative worlds are implanted it doesn't matter so much what philosophy children eventually come to espouse, because the point of reference stays secure in the original garden of the soul. The wounding of Aslan is never forgotten. This is where the moral sympathies retain their primitive power and influence. Of course these are first approximations, initial intimations of a kind of firm world found also in Dickens. But it is from this necessary and beneficent ground that ambiguity can take off and amusement and irony become possible.

The big problem for "making good" in the contemporary world lies with finding moral examples for emulation. There may well be a hunger for heroes, but all candidates for moral emulation seem disqualified in one way or another. This is odd since in all the really serious activities, like baseball, rock music, or war, people achieve excellence by identifying with the finest practitioners. In the past emulation was clearly part of the pursuit of the good. Virtue was furthered by the imitation of the morally attractive.

So what has happened now? Perhaps the idea of *the* good woman and *the* good man has splintered into myriad fragments, leaving a row of empty plinths where once the examples stood. Certainly the historical figures filling my mother's Sunday School prizes are now either unknown, like David Livingstone and Mary Slessor, or debunked. Of course many of them were heroes of empire or missionary enterprise, though not less heroic for that. The change has occurred in my own lifetime since I have never asked my own children to emulate the examples set up for me by books and teachers and parents. There is now a pervasive fear of falsely idealizing past heroes or creating a fixed national (and nationalistic) pantheon.

We are so afraid of dismissive and knowing gestures and ironic insinuation that we do not admit anyone is admirable or steadfast and generous. The very words make us recoil defensively, and we even feel relief when another noble being is "deconstructed" and diminished. The finest words in the language, like prudence and probity, are reserved for liturgies or obituaries.

This backing away from the exemplary may prove a costly cowardice, because worth and integrity are embodied in people more than they are conveyed in ideas; and any good society needs publicly to recognize goodness. Everyday citizens don't find their way forward by stumbling around in a state of pure directionlessness. It should be possible openly to acknowledge integrity and speak of people doing at least some good things, whatever dubieties investigative journalism may later uncover. Of course, in a way people like Martin Luther King and Andrei Sakharov *are* there, in place, but mainly because the media maintain a spotlight on the heroic victim under trial or threat. Sheer goodness on its own has a poor press, and it is revealingly difficult to think of names. Irina Ratushinskaya, imprisoned by the KGB for writing poems, is one of the most luminously admirable people I have ever encountered. But, unhappily, she too is a victim. It so happens that Prince Charles is a good man, marked by nothing more and nothing less than persistent decent concern and desire to discover his duty. But I'm not sure I can propose him. Admiration for good examples of the species should not

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really be that difficult. It is an important element in "what makes people good."

Schools of Goodness

THE AUTHOR of such a piece as this had better write a concluding unethical postscript. He is the "average sensual man" referred to earlier in the script and has no claims either to goodness or to victimage. But speaking now for that "average sensual man" it seems necessary to admix the rigors of ethics with the relaxations of entertainment and play.

One way to do this is by reading novels and stories about venial sin and moral micro-climates. E. F. Benson's novels about the rivalry of Miss Mapp and Lucia are accounts of fads, foibles, and fallibilities which provide the right mix of entertainment and warning. Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* is another marvelous entertainment which also introduces a moral microclimate. The reader is adopted by the unformed childlike view of Mole as he is introduced to the ways of the world by the wise and knowledgeable Ratty. On the one side Mole encounters the immediate terror of the spiteful weasels and on the other the awesome authority of Badger. At the center of the action is the whirligig charisma of Toad the Trickster. This mixture of threat and awe, wise induction and irrational but somehow fascinating disorder, just about summarizes the human condition.

Apart from such entertainments some other thing is needed. For me it is music. For other people it may be dancing or arranging flowers or enticing shapes out of the grain of wood or simply ordering and reordering a room until it is pleasurable to the eye. Encouraging growth, observing orders, responding to or making graceful motion, delighting in power or delicate lines, juxtaposing masses and colors, are all kinds of well being. If people are to "make good" they also need well being. In any "school of goodness" there needs to be plenty of room for making and listening, watching and playing. □

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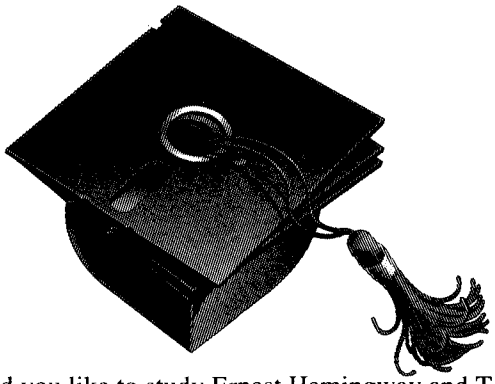

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WHAT MAKES PEOPLES RICH?

Instead of excoriating the Japanese, we might try to find out why they get ahead. A new study suggests that how hard people work has something to do with *why* they work.

RICHARD LYNN

THE GROWTH of Japanese economic power during the 1980s has shaken the confidence of many Americans in their country's ability to retain its world supremacy. Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* predicts that the United States is destined to decline, as other world powers have declined in the past. And now further challenges loom from East Asia.

The rise of the miracle economies of the Pacific rim raises once again the question of why some countries are able to achieve spectacular rates of economic growth and sustain them over several decades, while others languish in apparently intractable poverty. It is a question that economists have not been able to answer. A couple of years ago Harvard economist David Landes gave a lecture to the American Economics Association with the arresting title, "Why Are We So Rich and They So Poor?" Landes wound up saying that economists have no idea why nations differ in their rates of economic growth. He suspected, as other economists have suspected before him, that the answer must lie somewhere in the psychological motivations and attitudes of the various peoples. But where?

This is the question I have tried to answer in a 43-nation study of attitudes toward work, achievement, competition, money, big business, and entrepreneurship. The problem was to measure the strength of these motivations and values in the different populations and see whether any of them are consistently related to national rates of economic growth.

Exploring Attitudes

THE PLANNING of a study of this kind is necessarily guided by theories as to what the crucial psychological attitudes might be. There are four major theories—overlapping in various ways but still distinct—which the study was designed to test. The first was put forward by the German sociologist Max Weber in 1904.

Weber noted that in the later Middle Ages the most economically advanced European societies were Spain, Portugal, France, Venice, Florence, and the other Italian city states. At this time the northern European countries—the German principalities, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and England—were economic backwaters. But in the sixteenth century the Reformation swept away the Roman Catholic Church in the northern countries and replaced it with the Protestant religions. From this time onward the countries of northern Europe began to draw ahead, and it was Protestant England which led the field in the agricultural and industrial revolutions.

Weber thought that the association between Protestantism and economic growth was no accident. He noted that the Protestant religions stressed individuals' responsibility for their own lives, approved of worldly achievement, and in some cases held that success in the world was a sign of grace. By contrast, Roman Catholicism placed greater value on the virtue of poverty and withdrawal from the world. It was the value system of Protestantism, Weber argued, that encouraged the peoples of northern Europe to work for worldly success and make their countries affluent in the process.

More recently the concept of the work ethic has been shorn of its Protestant association. Interestingly, however, some Americans have perceived a decline in the work ethic that might be connected with this dissociation. University of Delaware psychologist Robert Eisenberger sees nineteenth-century America as a society where hard work was widely regarded as a moral duty and people took pride in work done well. He believes that this ethic has now largely disappeared. Today people want material goods but are unwilling to work hard to get

Mr. Lynn is a professor of psychology at the University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland. This article is based on his recent book The Secret of the Miracle Economy, *published by the Social Affairs Unit, 104 Park Street, London, W.1.*

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them. They work reluctantly—or borrow the necessary money from the Japanese.

In the 1930s the economist Joseph Schumpeter took up the role of psychological attitudes in economic growth. He stressed the crucial contribution of the entrepreneur and speculated about his psychology. Schumpeter believed that entrepreneurs have an exceptionally strong will to win and they strive to satisfy this by building a business empire. They have the same kind of psychology, Schumpeter believed, as medieval barons who established territorial domains and dynasties that would rule through future generations. Schumpeter did not live to see the growth of American business dynasties headed up by people with names like Joseph H. Smnuck III, but if he had, he would have been amused to see successful American entrepreneurs adopting a form of the titles of medieval European princelings.

"I lost my temper."

The next important theory appeared in 1961 in Harvard psychologist David McClelland's *The Achieving Society*. McClelland advanced the concept of "achievement motivation"—motivation to do a job well and achieve a standard of excellence. He argued that the strength of achievement motivation in the population was a major factor responsible for economic growth, and he traced out this relationship in a number of societies such as England from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and the United States over the last century or so.

The fourth major contribution was made by Martin Weiner, whose *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* focused particularly on the problem of the low growth rate of Britain since 1850. Weiner argued that an important factor bearing on economic growth is the status of different occupations, and in particular the status accorded to business, entrepreneurship, and making money in contrast to that accorded to the professions like law and medicine, and to the land and life of the country gentleman. He argued that for various historical reasons business occupations have had low status in Britain, and consequently the most ambitious and able young men have tended to make their careers in the professions. Those who have made money in business have sought to establish themselves as country gentlemen and encouraged their sons to enter the professions, so that the businesses which they built up have tended to stagnate. While Britain exemplifies this mindset to a high degree, it is not implausible that the social standing accorded to moneymakers, and the valuation put on money, may be important factors generally in national rates of economic growth.

Why Work?

WE TURN now to the results of the study. Four psychological motives and values—the work ethic, competitiveness, achievement motivation, and valuation of money—were measured by questionnaires in student samples in 43 countries.

The questionnaires consisted of a number of statements (with responses to range from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") and questions (responses: yes, unsure, no). For example, under work ethic: "It is important for me to do my work as well as I can even if it isn't popular with my coworkers." "There is satisfaction in a job well done." "I like to work hard." Achievement motivation: "Do you like to make improvements to the way the organization you belong to functions?" "Would you prefer to work with a congenial but incompetent partner rather than with a difficult but highly competent one?" "Is 'getting on in life' important to you?" Competitiveness: "I feel

"...I JUST HAD TO SAY @#&* #$& JOHN PAUL II ... @#&* #$& JESSE HELMS!"

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that winning is important in both work and games." "I try harder when I'm in competition with other people." Valuation of money: "I would do practically anything legal for money if it were enough." "I am proud of my financial victories, pay, riches, investments, etc.—and let my friends know about them."

When we took the scores of individuals from each country and averaged them to get national scores, we found that competitiveness and the value attached to money were the only motives and attitudes related to rates of economic growth. The correlations were high—approximately 0.6 for competitiveness, 0.76 for valuation of money. These two factors are also closely associated with each other—almost certainly because making money is a sign of competitive success. The person who has made money has competed well in the game of life.

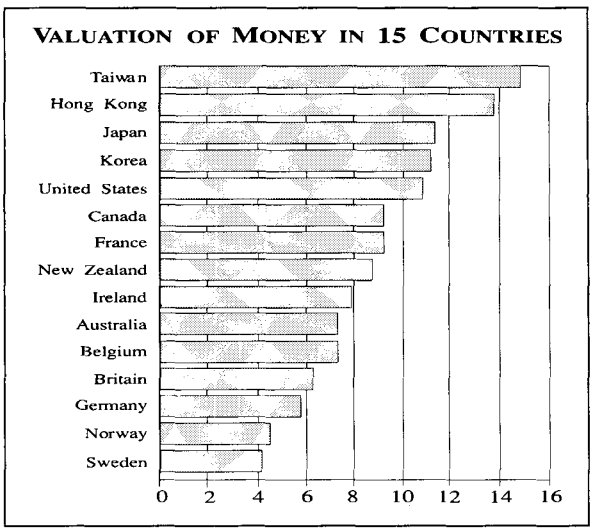
This means that about half the variability between countries in economic growth can be explained as a result of the degree to which their peoples value money and like to compete in order to make it. It is easy to understand why this should be. If a country's people are competitive and value money, they will be motivated to build up efficient business enterprises, and it is these that generate high rates of economic growth.

The scores for the valuation of money obtained for 15 economically developed nations are shown in the chart. The highest scores were in the four "miracle economies" of the Pacific rim—Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan. Close behind is the United States, and then Canada and France lead the low scorers: the European nations and the outposts of European culture in Australia and New Zealand.

Opting Out

OUR RESULTS raise several interesting questions about the causes of the differences in competitiveness and the valuation of money and whether it would be either feasible or desirable to try to increase these motivations and values. So far as the causes are concerned, two factors suggest themselves. In the first place, as Weiner discussed, the European nations have a longstanding habit of according the highest social status to the landowning and the professional classes. Several of these countries, like Britain, have titled aristocrats, many of whom obtain their incomes from their landed estates. Typically the eldest son inherits the title and the estate, and the younger sons go into the army and navy, or perhaps into the law. These aristocratic and professional families have always tended to look down on business as something rather distasteful. This European social hierarchy differs from that in the United States and the countries of the Pacific rim, which have instead an aristocracy of money derived from successful businesses.

A second factor could be the degree to which welfare states have developed. The welfare state is a European creation designed to provide a secure basic living for all citizens, including housing, medical care, retirement pensions, and an income for the unemployed. Its object is to guarantee the provision of the necessities of life without people having to worry about how to find the money for them. Hence in a real sense money is less important to Europeans than it is to Asians in the Pacific rim, or even to Americans.



Greens against Growth

WE COME finally to the question of whether anything either can or should be done to attempt to increase the levels of competitiveness and the valuation of money in the populations of North America and Europe. The question raises several complex and controversial issues. In the first place, there is a growing Green movement in the West—but significantly not in the Pacific rim—which opposes further economic growth on the grounds that growth depletes the world's natural resources. There is another body of opinion which does not like the idea of a more competitive society where people are striving to make more money than their neighbors.

The opposing view is that further economic growth is necessary to pay for the costs entailed in reducing pollution and for improved public and welfare services. Furthermore, if the West were to cease to aspire to economic growth, we should see world leadership in economic, scientific, and military power pass to Japan and possibly to Japanese satellites in East Asia. We should resign ourselves to becoming has-been nations like Spain and Portugal, formerly great powers but today backwaters on the world scene. It is not too likely that a lot of people in the United States and Europe would deliberately opt for such a future if they gave the prospect serious thought.

Reconsidering cradle-to-grave guaranteed provision is a different matter. Of course, people like Charles Murray have already begun to question extensive state welfare on the grounds that it encourages the social maladies. If the homeless are provided with houses, the numbers of homeless needing houses start to grow. In Britain, adolescents who otherwise would need to live with their parents are becoming "homeless" in increasing numbers because the welfare state now provides them with apartments and even houses. The same principle applies in other areas of the welfare state. If people are given an unemployment dole which is not greatly below what they can earn, the numbers of the unemployed increase. If adolescent girls who have illegitimate babies are provided with an apartment and an income, more adolescent girls have illegitimate babies.

The welfare state seemed the compassionate solution to the problems of poverty when it was introduced widely in Europe after the Second World War and in the United States during the

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Presidency of Lyndon Johnson. Today, after the experience of some forty years in Europe and twenty years in the United States, increasing numbers of people are coming to realize that the welfare state exacerbates the problems it is designed to alleviate, undermining personal responsibility, fostering a dependency culture, and encouraging the growth of an underclass. Our study suggests that the welfare state reduces competitiveness and the value attached to money even among people who do not develop the actual social maladies discussed above. Economic growth as well as social health would benefit from its serious rethinking. □

THE DARMAN DEFICIT

ALL PAIN, NO GAIN

The budget summit was convened to cut the deficit. America can't afford any more cuts like that.

STEPHEN MOORE

OF ALL the gloomy economic news from Washington in recent months, perhaps the most frightening was the prediction by Office of Management and Budget Director Richard Darman that Congress and the President may hold another bipartisan budget summit in 1993. This would seem about as advisable for George Bush as it would have been for someone safely in a lifeboat to reboard the *Titanic*. The 1990 budget summit has already helped produce a sagging economy, soaring federal spending, and record deficits. America quite literally cannot afford any more of these budget summits.

Of course, if success in Washington is measured purely in terms of winning the rhetorical battle, then the budget deal has been a stunning triumph for the White House. The national media continue to speak of the summit package in reverential tones. The headline on an article by Alan Murray of the *Wall Street Journal* this July was typical: "Last Year's Budget Pact Gains New Admirers for Curbing Spending."

Seemingly no one has an unkind word to say about the deal. Rudolph Penner, former director of the Congressional Budget Office, says, "If you look at the fundamentals of the budget, the situation is improving." Even conservative Representative Newt Gingrich, a vocal opponent of the agreement when it was originally unveiled, now echoes the conventional wisdom: "The agreement has worked far, far better than I thought it would."

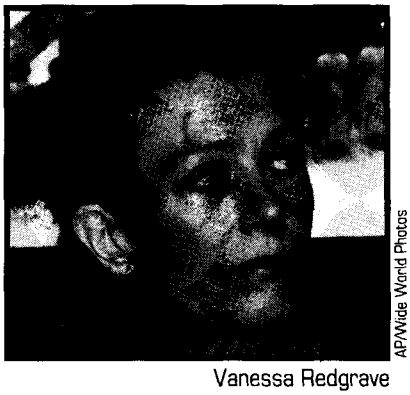
One can only wonder what possible criteria Mr. Gingrich and his colleagues use to measure success. If the primary objective of the $500-billion "deficit reduction" package was to, well, reduce the deficit, then the agreement could only be labeled a spectacular flop. Almost exactly one year ago, shortly before the start of the budget summit, the Congressional Budget Office predicted that the deficit would be $161 billion in 1991 and $124 billion in 1992. The budget summit was convened to *lower* these numbers.

Unfortunately, the budget numbers released this July show that it did the reverse. The 1991 deficit will be $282 billion—shattering by some $60 billion the previous record for red ink. And that was the report's good news. The White House now admits that next year's deficit spending will surge to $348 billion—almost triple the pre-budget-summit estimate and $70 billion above the forecast when the President signed the deficit "reduction" package into law last October.

Darman and his co-conspirators

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute.

"WE HAVE TO UNCONDITIONALLY DEFEND IRAQ AGAINST AMERICAN, BRITISH, AND ISRAELI AGGRESSION!"



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Vanessa Redgrave

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have attempted to explain away this ocean of red ink by saying the higher deficits are due simply to "technical re-estimates." Only in Washington could a $70-billion budget revision—roughly the size of the combined net incomes of the fifty largest Fortune 500 companies—be blamed on an accounting glitch.

Even if Darman is telling the truth, however, there can be no denying the unhappy bottom line: if these new forecasts hold true, from 1991 through 1994 Congress will add close to $1 trillion to the national debt. This will be the nation's worst four-year fiscal performance ever. And remember those budget savings of $500 billion we were told over and over again the summit would generate? Sorry—sometime this summer they mysteriously vanished.

THE FEDERAL DEFICIT BEFORE AND AFTER THE 1990 BUDGET AGREEMENT

	Pre-Summit Forecast July 1990	Current Forecast July 1991
1991	$161	$282
1992	124	348
1993	132	246

Sources: Congressional Budget Office, "The Economic and Budget Outlook: An Update," July 1990; Office of Management and Budget, "Mid-Session Review of the Budget," July 1991.

Where Are They Now?

REMARKABLY, these stratospheric deficits have hardly evoked a peep of protest in Washington. The mere suggestion that the budget summit has run amok is treated as politically incorrect speech. There is a conspiracy of silence among the national media, the pro-tax liberal Left, and the moderate, balanced-budget wing of the Republican Party—that is, all the people who, since the early 1980s, have hysterically predicted economic collapse unless deficits were reduced immediately. Where are these deficit fearmongers now? They, too, have mysteriously vanished.

"Apparently there are two kinds of deficits," Reagan Administration economist Paul Craig Roberts concludes sarcastically. "Reagan deficits deindustrialize America, force up interest rates, doom future generations, and suck up the world's savings. But Bush deficits, resulting from the old routine of taxing, regulating, and spending, cause hardly a ripple in the domestic or world economy." This indeed has become the prevailing view, despite the observable fact that the evil Reagan deficits corresponded with eight years of economic prosperity while the benign Bush deficits—and the pro-spending policies that created them—ground that prosperity to a halt.

The critical issue for Congress and the President now is not *whether*, but *why*, the budget summit led to this debacle. A primary reason is that Congress and the White House stubbornly refused to acknowledge the debilitating impact that their new taxes would have on the economy. In fact, the congressional forecasting models actually predicted that the budget deal would have a *favorable* economic impact, because higher taxes would reduce government borrowing and thus lower interest rates.

These same models were long ago exposed as defective. Two years ago, to demonstrate the intellectual bankruptcy of the congressional forecasting methods, Senator Bob Packwood asked the Joint Tax Committee of Congress to estimate how much revenue could be raised by imposing a 100 per cent tax on all earnings over $200,000. As anyone with even an elementary understanding of economics knows, the answer is zero. But after the JTC ran the numbers through its computers, Packwood was told the tax would raise more than $100 billion per year. Evidently, the number crunchers on Capitol Hill have never been told that confiscatory taxation reduces the incentive to earn reportable income.

Taxes without Revenues

THIS YEAR'S tax increase provides a case study of the Laffer Curve in action. For the previous six years, with almost no new taxes, federal revenues climbed by a healthy 8 per cent per year. This year, with an increase in income-tax rates, a hike in the gasoline tax, the introduction of a 10 per cent surcharge on luxury items, and a variety of other new levies, total federal revenues are crawling ahead by an anemic half a percentage point.

A particular source of embarrassment for the White House and congressional leaders has been the 10 per cent tax on boats, aircraft, jewelry, and other luxury items. Masterminded as a fail-safe method of collecting from the "super rich," the levy has instead crippled the domestic boat and small-aircraft industries. What the masterminds seemed to have forgotten was that boats and airplanes are built by people almost none of whom are named Trump or Rockefeller. This year alone, some 9,400 non-rich Americans will have lost their jobs—all because of a tax that has actually *cost* the Treasury nearly $20 million. As one laid-off boat worker complained, "This Congress views jobs as luxuries."

What Congress still views as an absolute necessity, however, is spending money. Federal outlays are up 8 per cent over last year, or double the rate of inflation, making a mockery of Darman's persistent claims that the summit agreement contains "the toughest budget enforcement system ever."

In its defense, the Bush Administration has been courageously trying to hold the last vestiges of the budget agreement together, but the congressional Democrats long ago lost interest in belt-tightening. This summer they have rolled out their entire arsenal of New Deal, Keynesian, anti-recession spending ideas. Highlights include: a $5.8-billion unemployment-insurance extension bill, to show some compassion for the thousands of boat-industry employees and other workers thrown out of their jobs by the tax hike; Dan Rostenkowski's universal-health-insurance bill, to be paid for through a massive payroll-tax hike; and a $153-billion highway bill, containing more than four hundred porkbarrel road and transit projects—nearly one for every congressional district.

Herein lies the rub for Republicans. While the White House is determined, come hell or high water, to abide by the terms of the budget agreement, the Democrats clearly do not feel similarly honor bound. President Bush has thus committed the Republican Party

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to a path of unilateral economic-policy disarmament. The Democrats are free to spend, but the Republicans are forbidden to cut taxes.

Indeed, under the GOP's new politics of austerity, the White House has been immovable in its opposition to cutting any taxes. Social Security payroll-tax cuts? Bush lobbied to defeat them. The DeLay–Wallop Job Creation Act, linking cuts in payroll taxes and capital-gains taxes with expanded IRAs? Bush is against it. A proposal by Senator John McCain to repeal a pernicious provision of the budget deal requiring a three-fifths vote in the Senate to approve any tax cut? Bush wants to retain the super-majority requirement. Incredibly, Bush has even waffled on a Republican proposal to exterminate the luxury tax—the tax that doesn't raise any revenue!

Remember Bush's idea of cutting the capital-gains tax—the pillar of the Republicans' 1988 economic program? That became the first casualty of the 1990 budget summit; it has not been seen nor heard from since January, when Bush said he could not "find a way to pay for it."

Ironically, this is the line that liberal Democrats used exactly ten years ago in a futile attempt to block the Reagan supply-side tax cuts. Those income-tax-rate reductions eventually pulled America out of the deepest recession since the Great Depression and sparked a record eighty months of continuous prosperity. In contrast, for more than twenty months now Bush has presided over an economy that has recorded zero real GNP growth—one of the longest periods of stagnation.

The message should be obvious: by chaining himself to a budget agreement that has not spurred economic expansion, has not reined in spending, and has not reduced the deficit (and cannot do so), Bush is persuasively substantiating the Democrats' claim that this Administration has no domestic agenda. In short, the 1990 budget deal is not a triumph, it is an albatross. Unless the White House soon recognizes this, the American public will be faced with two unattractive choices in the 1992 elections: a non-existent Republican economic-growth agenda and a nonsensical Democratic one. The worry for the GOP is that you can't beat something with nothing. □

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

ON FREEDOM'S TRAIL

As we advise Central Europeans on a free economy, we might take some of our own advice.

LINDA BRIDGES

THE Philadelphia Society convened its annual meeting this year to consider the topic, "The March of Freedom through the World." With all due respect to the farsightedness of Secretary for Life Don Lipsett and his band of trustees, I submit that they could not possibly have known, when they chose this topic the previous spring and started lining up speakers, how very timely it would be. In April 1990 the dismantling of the Soviet empire was still in its first stages; Saddam Hussein was just a blip on the radar screen. Who could have known, when Vladimir Bukovsky was invited to speak, that he would have been allowed, just days before the meeting, to return to his native Russia for the first time since he was expelled in 1976? And who would have dreamt that the United States would have gone to war and won a splendid victory (but then proceeded to lose the peace)?

Some of the speakers addressed specifically the state of the Soviet Union and Central Europe, and the im-

Miss Bridges is NR's Managing Editor.

"[BUSH IS] A CIA MASS MURDERER ... REAGAN WAS NOTHING BUT EIGHT YEARS OF CHINESE WATER TORTURE."

Photo: Michael Edwards/Los Angeles Times

Alec Baldwin

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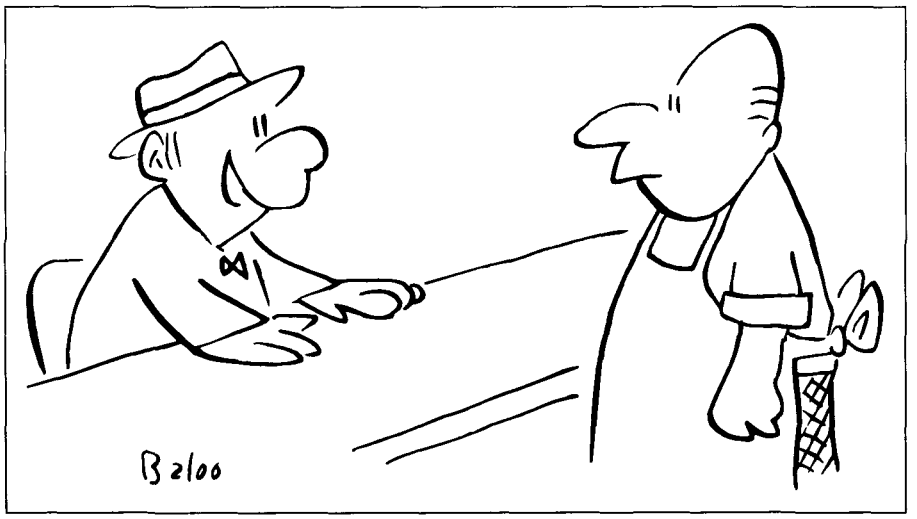
plications for Western policy; others looked at the general question, Is the cold war over, and, if so, what should the United States be doing now? But the answer to the general question depends on the answer to the narrower one. Whatever Tony Lewis may say about its taking two to tango, the cold war ended or will end the day the Soviet Union no longer has the resources and the inclination to pursue it.

One of the great cartoons from the Gorbachev era—which, as this page goes to press, seems to be ending—was the one by Henry Payne showing the General Secretary perched on a sort of Triceratops, with the caption, "The dashing new jockey, Gorbachev, and his sleek thoroughbred." The



"I feel patriotic today, Joe—give me a thousand pints of light!"

beast is looking eager but quizzical and thinking, "Vroom, vroom?" All the Philadelphia Society speakers who had been to the Soviet Union in the past year agreed that the situation had gone far beyond that point. The poor steed had given up the ghost; with a nod to Monty Python, he is an ex-dinosaur, and whether the hard-liners do or do not succeed in returning to a political status quo ante, they cannot resurrect him.

Richard Pipes, at the first session Saturday, told a story that sums up the nature of Soviet Communism. It dawned on him, as he was resetting his watch at Sheremetyevo Airport, that Moscow was two hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time, whereas other places on the same longitude are just one hour ahead. How come? he asked a Muscovite. Well, the latter replied, in the spring of 1930, as part of his first Five Year Plan, Stalin ordered the country to go on Daylight Saving Time. But that fall, caught up in massacring the Kulaks or whatever, he forgot to order a return to regular time. For 61 years the Soviet Union has been living on *false time*. This year it was finally supposed to "turn the clocks back."

Everyone agrees that Communism as a belief system is dead; but what intellectual implications does that have? And what military implications, in the sense of a continuing danger to the West? Charles Fairbanks argued that the failure of socialism points a crucial lesson for us as we turn to debates about domestic policy. Communism "assumed the malleability of man," just like that brand of American and European leftism that asserts there is "nothing higher than man" but brushes aside the preferences of individual men and women. And yet human nature reasserted itself finally in the Soviet Union, against the rationalistic but totally unreasonable Marxist idea of the New Man.

To the question (as Alan Keyes phrased it), "Is the danger past?" the answers divided sharply. Doug Bandow, debating Midge Decter on the proposition, "Resolved: That America should be the world's policeman," took the position that we must look only to ourselves now. Our government has two proper and necessary tasks: to preserve the lives and property of American citizens; and to preserve our Constitution—"the system other peoples love and emulate." For the rest, "Put up SDI and stay at home."

Most Philadelphia Society types would agree about putting up SDI, but would find staying at home more problematical. As Mr. Keyes put it, the world is now "a bit like a wide open Old West town" where "people still walk around with their guns on their hips." Frank Gaffney wondered whether, with the Soviet Union as with Saddam Hussein, "we're in the position of having declared victory without having made sure the enemy's power is broken."

We will know better two weeks or a month from now what centers of power survive, but clearly now is not the time to stop worrying. The Soviet Union, as Bill Buckley described it in his Friday-night opening address, is "somewhere between desperate and chaotic." Mikhail Bernstam—an émigré who is now an economic advisor to the Russian Republic (would he have believed it possible even four years ago?)—movingly described a conversation in which the economic advisory group was telling the Russian leaders that they should just explain to their people: For three years you will have to suffer, and then things will get better. "We *can't* tell them that," said the Deputy Prime Minister. "That's exactly what Communism and the Communist government told them for so many years. We've got to do *something* quickly."

A Spark of Hope

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY, one of the heroes of the fight against Communist oppression, saw grounds for hope amid the appalling desolation. While he judged most of the new "democratic" leaders incapable of making the radical changes that are needed, there are enclaves of fresh thinking about economic and political matters in the country—principally, he found, in the independent labor movement (think of Poland's Solidarity), and especially among the coal miners. Above all, the Russian people have awakened: "I saw people who will not surrender, who will not return to slavery, even if the entire world supports their enemy."

Meanwhile, what about the rest of the world? Bill Buckley quoted some of the more inflamed pronouncements against the Gulf War, including Arthur Schlesinger's statement that the war was "not worth one human life." To this proposition WFB responded by asking, "Does the threat to your freedom begin on the day that the Nazi trooper deposits you on a

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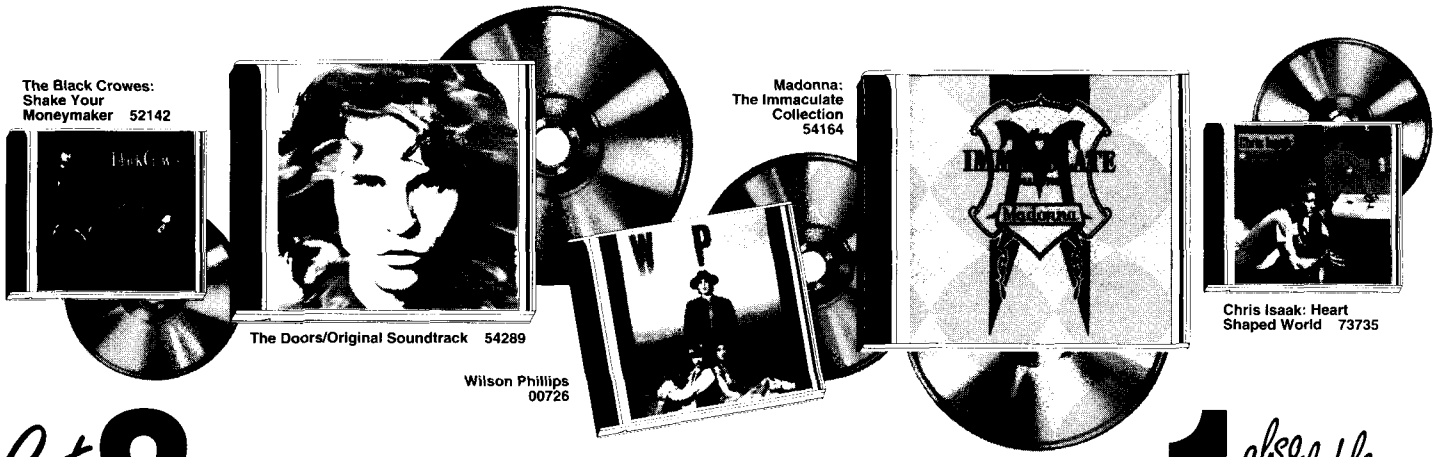
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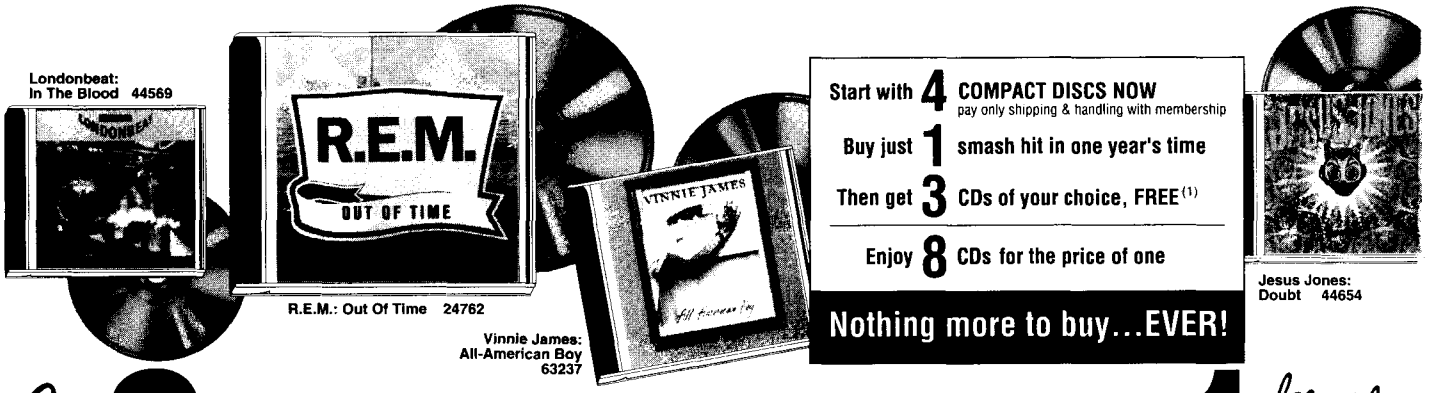

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train to Buchenwald, or does it begin a little before that time, say when Hitler took over the Rhineland and it was still just possible to stop him?" A mature society must be prepared to take "alert, timely action against destroyers of the peace."

An Interest in Civilization

MIDGE DECTER agrees, and in her debate with Doug Bandow the next day she added, "The United States of America has an *interest*" in sustaining "those few spots on earth where some civilized existence may survive." In taking the affirmative side of the question, she made her own preference clear ("I live in New York City. I *like* policemen"), but argued that her preference scarcely matters: "America *is* the world's policeman, whether you, I, or the American government likes it or not. Everything we do or fail to do has tremendous consequences for world order."

Sheldon Richman of the Cato Institute, speaking for the isolationist side, quoted Robert Taft as saying that we must not let Communism scare us into bankrupting this country. This led Mr. Richman to the anomaly that today's Old Right is likely to differ with the Old Right of Taft & Co., whereas the paleo-cons . . . "Scorecards can be purchased in the lobby." However, while the libertarians present tended to take the isolationist side, and the neo-cons and traditionalists the interventionist side, everyone refreshingly stuck to the issues and kept away from taxonomical name-calling.

So which way is freedom marching? Mostly forward, the Society concluded, in Central Europe; likewise at that time in the Soviet Union, although chaos even then marched at its side. ("You know, most of us are armed," an Irkutsk city councilman confided to Paul Weyrich.) In Western Europe, as Daniel Oliver pointed out, the answer will depend on whether Britain and Germany get cold feet about European integration. In the Third World—well, Chief Buthelezi would give one answer, the ill-used Kurds another. And here at home? Ed Meese chronicled some of the efforts to undo the Reagan revolution, and no one could honestly say he was mistaken. But it is not too late to fight back on behalf of the proper kind of government, which Dan Oliver defined as "that government which promotes liberty and the market." It is our duty to keep the Reagan revolution from going down in history as "just some glorious holiday in the age of statism." □

YOUNG WRITERS' REWARDS

THE judges of the Young Writers' Competition have finally, as we announced last issue (page 12), met *en banc*, compared notes, and come up with a verdict. The winner is Adam Lieberman of Brooklyn, N.Y.; the runners-up, Howard Hogan of Washington, D.C., and Rich Lowry of Arlington, Va. In due course we will be publishing Mr. Lieberman's piece, which describes a practical attempt to help the homeless, and how it went awry. Mr. Hogan wrote on how congressmen are insulated from real life, and Mr. Lowry on Governor Wilder as Machiavellian.

Before we get to the honorable mentions, a few general comments. The most successful papers, by and large, were the most reportorial. This should not be surprising: even for professional writers, it is more difficult to say something both fresh and coherent at a theoretical level than to write about something specific that has occurred; youth adds to the difficulty, since the young writer will have a narrower range of experience on which to draw. John Keats could have won a contest like ours writing on "negative capability," but few 25-years-olds have developed that sharpness of philosophical insight.

Secondly, if a contestant took on a topic that has been widely written about—like the question of how much libertarians, traditionalists, and neoconservatives should cooperate, or the connection between politics and morality, or even the evils of multiculturalism—he was competing not just with his fellow under-25-year-olds, but also with the whole range of people who have written on those topics in NATIONAL REVIEW. If, on the other hand, he analyzed some specific situation with which he was familiar, he was far likelier to come up with something that the reader would enjoy and learn from.

One more general point—which also applies to adult professionals: even some of the contestants who wrote the best, in terms of sentence construction and word choice, were too abstract. Well chosen details can make the difference between an article that sticks in the reader's mind and one he forgets the next day.

That said, we are happy to report that nearly two dozen of the 84 submissions were serious contenders, and many others showed real writing talent, even if they may have foundered on the rocks charted above. Here are the honorable mentions: Carolyn Weinstein, of Astoria, N.Y.; Andrew P. Thomas, of Revere, Mass.; Karl F. Jahn, of Richmond, Va.; James Woods, of Herndon, Va.; Havard Lyons, of San Antonio, Tex.; John K. Wilson, of Normal, Ill.; Scott C. Pandich, of Endwell, N.Y.; Eric Scheske, of South Bend, Ind.; Veronica Sikora, of Dolton, Ill.; Edward C. Cerny IV, of Summit, N.J.; Hal Root, of Fort Wayne, Ind.; Robert A. Book, of Durham, N.C.; Holly Hamilton, of Jerome, Idaho; Thomas J. Ryan, of Amenia, N.Y.; Diego T. Ruiz of Alexandria, Va.; Richard Dunn, of Bakersfield, Calif.; Ross E. Peiser, of Nashville, Tenn.; and Lisa Szefel, of Medford, Mass.

Special mentions go to Nathan Freeburg, of International Falls, Minn.; Ramesh A. Ponnuru, of Prairie Village, Kan.; Tara Frances Powell, of Elizabeth City, N.C.; and Jeremy Senderowicz, of Woodmere, N.Y. What sets these four apart is that they are the youngest of the young writers—as of last December, when the contest closed, Mr. Senderowicz was 17, Mr. Ponnuru, 16, Mr. Freeburg 15, and Miss Powell 14. Watch out for this quartet: they all have a strong, lively writing style and an eye for detail; as their experience broadens, we wouldn't be surprised to find their pieces turning up in our mailbox, and our pages.

Thanks to all who took part.

—LINDA BRIDGES

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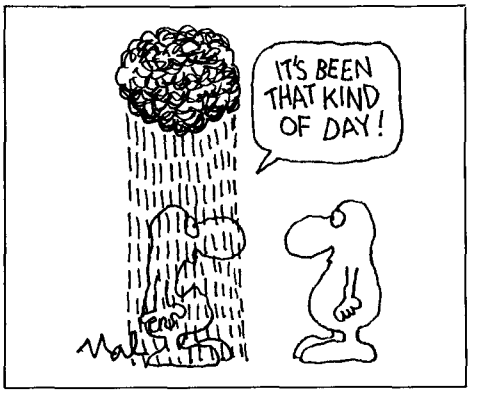
help



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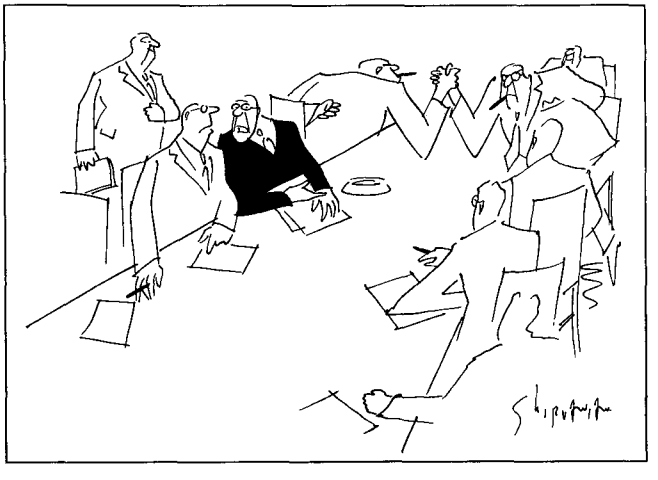
God Help Them

Though New York City's flaky
  And New York State is viewed
As just this side of shaky,
  The Democrats still brood,
Distraught that Mr. Cuomo
  Holes up in Albany,
Disowning every promo
  And squashing every plea.

W. H. VON DREELE



"As I understand it, if JB puts Harrington down, we get 51 per cent of their common stock and seven seats on their board. If Harrington puts JB down . . ."

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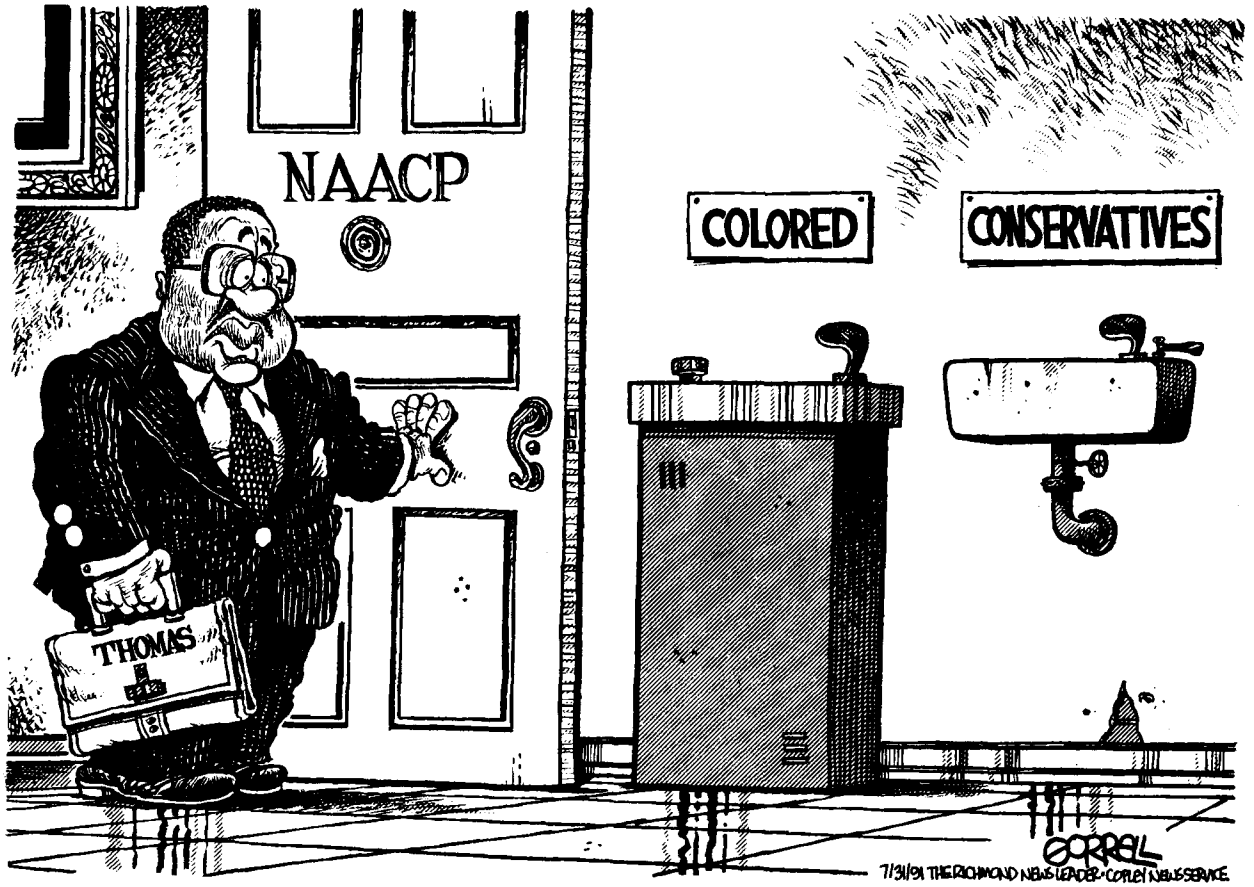

"IT DOESN'T MEAN A THING, DEAR... WE'RE JUST FRIENDS."

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Admirable and Right

JEFFREY HART

LIONEL TRILLING once wrote a review of George Santayana's letters entitled "That Smile of Parmenides Made Me Think." The drama of *Our Age* by Noel Annan—now a life peer, Lord Annan—resides in the tension between the essential smugness of the book and its haunting sense of that smile of Parmenides. Were we, the "Our" of the title, the best and brightest of the Oxbridge and LSE graduates, who went to university after World War I, served in World War II, and rose to power with the Labor governments, who imposed our moral and aesthetic tastes upon English culture . . . were we fundamentally *wrong*?

Thus a late chapter is entitled "Was Our Age Responsible for England's Decline?" Here the term "Our Age" becomes a metonymy for what amounts to an orthodoxy, the set of attitudes that dominated the young men and a few women who became the British establishment. Annan is never quite explicit on the point, but he seems to remain confident that whatever part they played in Britain's undoing, those attitudes were nevertheless admirable and right.

Our Age: English Intellectuals between the Wars—A Group Portrait, by Noel Annan (Random House, 479 pp., $30)

Noel Annan is a personage. From a series of posts at King's College, Cambridge, and finally London University, he has moved with ease between the academy and the world of public policy. He has sat on innumerable boards and committees, and has acted as a trustee for the British Museum and as director of the Royal Opera House at Covent Garden. He has the ability to summarize ideas lucidly, even fairly complex ones, as in his first important book, a biography of the Victorian man of letters Sir Leslie Stephen (father of Virginia Woolf).

What should have been the opening sentences of this book actually appear on page 215: "In the late Forties Our Age began to move into positions of authority and influence. Rab Butler was re-educating the Conservative Party, and in his research group were the ministers in future Conservative governments." What Annan means by "re-educating" here means moving the Conservative Party toward the British socialist consensus.

Katherine Trunk

That consensus was not only political, and Annan is valuable in recalling what it was rejecting—namely, the Victorian idea of the Gentleman, felt, as in the title of his second chapter, to be "The Insufferable Ideal."

> The ideal that Our Age was taught to admire when they were children was the ideal of the English gentleman. . . . It went back to the eighteenth century. Wellington embodied it, Waterloo exhibited it. According to this code an Englishman should be guided by an overpowering sense of civic duty and diligence. Every man's first duty should be to the country of his birth and the institutions in which he served. Loyalty to institutions came before loyalty to people. Individuals should sacrifice their careers, their family, and certainly their personal happiness or whims, to the regiment, the college, the school, the services, the ministry, the profession, or the firm. . . . At Waterloo, officers courted danger to encourage their men in much the same way as naval officers at Trafalgar strolled up and down the quarterdeck regardless of sharpshooters or grapeshot.

It is one of the ironies of *Our Age* that Lord Annan is most certainly a Gentleman, has served his university, has done his duty in the army, has served on all of those committees, seems to know absolutely everyone and refers to them by school and university nicknames, writes a very clubby prose, and indeed for his gentlemanly services was made a life peer. Yet he holds to the post-Victorian attitudes of Our Age, the orthodoxy that undermined the Gentleman.

Reading of his life one wonders if the Victorian ideal of the Gentleman might itself have been fatally flawed. Was it, in Conradian terms, "hollow at the core"? The famous 1920s Columbia professor John Erskine thought it might be. In his essay "The Moral Obligation to be Intelligent" he pointed out that the male heroes of English literature, whether one considers Chaucer, Shakespeare, Fielding or later writers, are good—but not smart. The villains are smart.

Annan does not quite formulate it this way, but Our Age's impatience with the Gentleman surely had to do with the feeling that the idea made too little of intelligence and too much of "playing the game." Annan persuasively adduces other reasons for the rejection of the Victorian ethos: World War I, which led to widespread pacifism; and the Modernist movement in thought and in the arts, at the core of which was alienation from, rejection of, society. Pacifism was an understandable reaction to the slaughters on the Western Front, where the Gentlemen led troops into action while kicking a soccer ball. Modernism was a stylistic revolution that valued experiment, novelty, and mockery. It represented an enormously powerful

Mr. Hart, an NR *Senior Editor, is the author of* Acts of Recovery.

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movement of sensibility, and a very complex one. There was also, what Annan is too polite to put this bluntly, the revolution of the libido or the *id*, which surely had to do more with the new motor cars than with Freud: no more chaperones and porch swings.

No one can read this book and dislike Lord Annan, but without knowing it, or perhaps half-knowing it, he has entirely demonstrated the limitations of the people he includes in *Our Age*. "When [Michael] Oakeshott left Cambridge for [Harold] Laski's chair at LSE, Laski's students were appalled. They listened with horror to his inaugural lecture, which told them that their hopes of a better world were false and their guides wiseacres." Yes, they were appalled and listened with horror. They were orthodox. However, Oakeshott was among the most important English political philosophers of his time. Also, he was right, as were other dissenters from Our Age such as Evelyn Waugh, T. S. Eliot, and Malcolm Muggeridge. Laski predicted that socialism would produce "a better world." As Burke once asked about Bolingbroke, Who now reads Laski?

The members of Our Age who walk through Annan's pages have no precise analogue in the United States, and one question this book raises is, Why not? In England, there is the Oxbridge connection, as in America there is the Ivy League and especially Harvard. Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, and other great faculties have also sent personnel to successive governments. But there is an important cultural difference that distinguishes the American circumstance from the British one.

Let us run down the representative names of the American policy establishment. Henry Stimson, Cordell Hull, George Marshall, George Kennan, Averell Harriman, John Foster Dulles, Dean Rusk, Dean Acheson, John J. McCloy, Charles Bohlen. Chronologically, these figures correspond to Lord Annan's Our Age. Like his friends, they played important policy-making roles. The Americans were powerfully willed, and in the historical event destroyed Communism, no small accomplishment.

They were impressive men, but they were single-minded. In contrast to Lord Annan's friends, they did not have much of a bohemian mode. None of them hobnobbed with writers and artists. None, with the possible exception of George Kennan, cared about minimalism or Jung's archetypes. Did Adolf Berle or Harry Hopkins know Wallace Stevens? Probably they had never heard of him. These men were lawyers, Wall Street types, bankers. They were intelligent but not intellectuals.

At the same time, the broad cultural trends that Our Age prompted in England also swept through the United States: a movement toward socialism, the vulgarization of popular culture, legal permissiveness, a superstitious egalitarianism, a startling decline in personal honor, the spread of pornography. Lord Annan's establishment actually approved of these trends, though no doubt disliking what emerged. The American establishment was not really aware of them; it had other things on its mind.

Was Our Age responsible for Britain's decline? Annan answers the question obliquely. In considerable part, it seems to me, his answer amounts to yes. □

Achievement Test

ERNEST LEFEVER

A NEW and disquieting tribalism has vastly complicated America's education crisis. Everyone who needs to know knows that our high-school seniors fall far behind those of France, Germany, and Japan on academic subjects that matter. But many don't know, or profess not to, that the fundamental problem of our schools today lies in two interrelated realities—a strident tribalism masquerading as pluralism and the unwillingness of the educational establishment to accept accountability.

We Must Take Charge: Our Schools and Our Future, by Chester E. Finn Jr. (Free Press, 365 pp., $22.95)

This is the central message of Chester Finn's indispensable and wholly convincing diagnosis of, and prescription for, America's ailing schools. "If we handled academics as we do athletics, our children would learn more. On the playing field, we find clear goals and high expectations, uniform standards, explicit rules, and referees to enforce them."

As it is, our $230-billion elementary and secondary system serves poorly both personal enrichment and public policy. Compared to the other major industrial democracies, our high-school seniors are less prepared to enter the university or the job market. We are assailed from without by unrelenting competition and threatened from within by creeping mediocrity.

"How to respond to minorities . . . has become the single most" vexing issue in education, says Finn. Quoting Diane Ravitch, he distinguishes between *pluralism*, the rich human mix of American life, and *particularism*, an ethnocentric ideology insisting that "children can learn only from experiences of people from the same race." Thus certain advocates of Afro-American studies depreciate the cultural and intellectual contribution of whites—from Plato and Aristotle to Shakespeare and the Founding Fathers.

This tribalism, often bordering on bigotry, feeds a new anti-elitism that sneers at achievement and stigmatizes achievers as "nerds." Asian students who excel against formidable odds are urged by "some school officials to ease off instead of being held up as models to emulate." Indeed, says Finn, students who excel academically should be honored as lavishly as star athletes.

Some advocates of bilingualism wrongly "reject the goal of rapid English fluency and eventual assimilation" in deference to the immigrants' native tongue and what they mistakenly call "self-esteem." And the new tribalists sometimes dance with the gender benders, one of whom, from Harvard no less, asserted that American adolescent girls suffer doubt and repression because of "Western culture."

Add to this the myth that "equality of opportunity"—a right supported by

Mr. Lefever, a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, has served on the Maryland Values Education Commission.

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everyone—should lead to equal results, and one can see why the educational establishment opposes any comprehensive system of accountability. These "anti-testing guerrilla fighters"—Finn's words—block efforts to establish a nationwide test for all elementary and high-school students. Pretending that great differences in the capacity or inclination of individuals and groups to perform academically do not exist, they recoil from facts that would slay the myth.

In fact, according to Finn, the most effective way to foster excellence and prepare high-school seniors for a tough world would be to establish required national achievement tests covering history, civics, English, mathematics, science, and geography. These tests should match or exceed the requirements of similar tests that have served France, Germany, and Japan so well.

Results from such tests would be of great value to prospective employers and college administrators, who would weigh them along with other factors. Any employer would still be free to choose a low-scoring student or even his niece. No coercion here.

Some conservatives fear that national testing, geared to a national curriculum, would lead to increased federal control and political indoctrination. This is unlikely, because the major proponents of testing insist that the tests must measure only proficiency in academic subjects.

Others fear that national testing would subvert local control of the schools. On the contrary, comprehensive testing would provide state and local school boards with vital additional data for improving their performance. More than 70 per cent of American voters polled in 1990 supported a national high-school graduation exam and other national standardized tests.

Though "unionism per se does not alarm" Finn, he is troubled by the NEA's pursuit of fluffy fads. The NEA is gung ho for "'critical thinking,' 'global awareness,' and 'problem-solving skills,'" while "silent about history, geography, civics, literature, even science." As a dogged opponent of effective educational reform, however, the NEA is unlikely to get its fads into the national tests. The American Federation of Teachers has been more supportive of testing, says Finn.

Educational choice within the public schools and between public and private schools adds a market test and encourages better performance. Finn is opposed to coercive busing, quotas, race-norming, and other pernicious practices that pit group against group and often imply that society is racially divided between victims and victimizers. Racial quotas in professional basketball would make as much sense as racial quotas for schools, colleges, or merit scholarships.

Children, Finn argues, should be grouped by their ability so that both the "fast learners" and the "slow learners" (as they were called when I went to school) get what they deserve—a rich experience in knowledge, skills, and traditional values. So-called "cooperative learning," i.e., mixing students regardless of their talents, discriminates against the best interests of all.

Teaching is a profession. Teachers (at least in the public schools), like physicians and lawyers, ought to be certified. Good teachers should be rewarded and poor ones dismissed. There should be no automatic tenure. Teacher performance, public and private, should be subjected to market forces, rigorous evaluation by parents and educators, and national tests for their fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade students. An incompetent physician can hurt one patient at a time, but an incompetent teacher can shortchange dozens of impressionable children.

We Must Take Charge, eminently readable and studded with down-to-earth illustrations, should be required reading for concerned parents, teachers, and politicians. To his credit, Finn does not claim to have all the answers, but he did ask the right questions. Honest and courageous, he has no hidden agenda or subliminal message. His assessment ought to be read and reread by Lamar Alexander. □

Neither Salvation nor Bondage

GLENN ELLMERS

THE NEWS that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas subscribes to the doctrine of natural law has been received with something like alarm by liberals and even a few conservatives. The former suspect an archaic, vaguely medieval approach to law that would surely reverse their great gains in the last few decades. The latter are wary of the "judicial activism" that a rigorous adherence to natural law would seem to require.

On the Intelligibility of Political Philosophy, by Charles N. R. McCoy, edited by James V. Schall and John J. Schrens (Catholic University of America, 306 pp., $45)

Among scholars of the natural-law tradition, one of the most thoughtful was the late Fr. Charles N. R. McCoy. His often profound insights are contained in his 1963 *The Structure of Political Thought* and in a recent collection of essays, *On the Intelligibility of Political Philosophy*—neglected classics, both of them. A professor of politics for more than three decades (at Catholic University and later at Santa Clara University), McCoy exhibited a deep appreciation for the Greek–medieval tradition in intellectual history, and demonstrated that a return to the principles of that tradition could bring much-needed relief from the confusion and extremism of modern politics. Yet in spite of the great originality of his scholarship, or perhaps because of it, his works remain largely unnoticed.

McCoy's method of understanding the condition of twentieth-century politics was to trace the intellectual suppositions of modern political thinkers as they departed from the Thomistic/Aristotelian understanding of man and nature, with increasingly serious practical consequences. According to the natural-law tradition, McCoy explains, "the end which the law seeks is a common good predicated not on force and fear of the law but on a free advancing to the perfection of the virtues directed to the common good of each and all."

For McCoy, the political community has a purpose that goes beyond the

Mr. Ellmers is a fellow at the John M. Olin Foundation in New York.

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merely conventional or "contract" theory of government. As a contract, the state is merely a compact entered into for the sake of common security and the efficient procuring of material needs. But these, he answers, are already accomplished in the formations of the family and the primitive village and precede the political community as such. The state, properly understood, comes into existence to ordain man to his "proper good" (in a secular sense; man's ultimate or final end is not found in this life). Because he is a rational being his aim is higher than mere security and comfort. The political community, "beginning in a sufficiency of material goods . . . continues in existence for the sake of the perfection of life in the virtues and the arts." Wealth and personal security, for the citizen of a free society, are not ends in themselves nor means to sloth and license, but preconditions for his true aim, the cultivation of his better nature.

Though McCoy was a conservative, he did not agree with the view of many contemporary conservatives and libertarians that government is a necessary evil. This opinion, he argued, is a result of a modern misconception. McCoy's great contribution was to give a subtle analysis of the way the pre-Enlightenment tradition understood government as neither salvation nor bondage, and to elucidate the lapses of modern political thought into those extremes.

He begins, using Aristotle's categories, by distinguishing between the sciences, or rational pursuits: "The Greek–medieval tradition was built on the subordination of practical science to theoretic science and, within the sphere of practical science, on the subordination of art to prudence." The inversion of this "order" leads to every manner of failed and inhuman regime. The theoretic sciences are those which study "that which is," including not only physics and mathematics but also philosophy and theology.

Now part of that which simply "is" is man's nature. Human nature is not about doing (prudence) or making (art) but is simply given—how else could we speak of "inalienable rights." If theoretic science, which concerns the good proper to human nature—the natural law—does not remain separate from and "superior" to prudence (which deals with contingencies), then inalienable rights and all natural institutions—the family, property, liberty—are left at the mercy of political agendas. The state is indeed intended to guide its citizens to virtue, but the natural law which instructs us in that virtue, and which is not determined by man, must always be at a remove from the tempest of everyday politics. Thus the abandonment of this proper relationship may lead on the one hand to the conclusion that man's nature and proper good can be "made" by the regime; or alternatively, that it does not exist at all, as in Western liberalism's equality of "lifestyles."

Reason, therefore, not social convention or inherited folk wisdom, is the principal authority for knowing the good. This should be distinguished, however, from the "extreme apriorism" which William F. Buckley Jr. rightly regards as hostile to conservatism. In claiming that the proper good of man is a matter for reason to ascertain, and separable from the *determination* of practical matters—which concern the *how*, not the *what*—McCoy does not free political prudence from the wisdom of tradition and experience. "The statesman," he observes, "is concerned with the character of his subjects as members of the political community; but the habits, customs, manners and institutions of a people are the concrete manifestations of character, and unlike works of art, neither can nor may be readily changed or set aside; to do so would violate the internal natural liberty of a people."

While in art man may make whatever he chooses (he is free to determine the "ends"), politics and government—under the direction of prudence—concern *doing*. In these matters, man is not free to invent what he mistakenly should do; he is free only to judge how it is to be done. Yet, now even more than when McCoy wrote, the confusion about the distinctions between the sciences, the application of the artistic standard to conduct, is abetted by modern liberal democracies.

Whereas the totalitarian state "makes" men according to its own determination, in the egalitarian West, each man "makes" himself, according to standards of his own design. So one hears that "what's right for you may not be right for me," or more stridently, "We're here, we're queer; get used to it." The natural law, the light by which the state ought to lead free citizens (by guidance and not force) to virtue is deemed "oppressive," "confining," "out of date"; the family, private property, and the commandments of Divine Law are not considered nowadays the necessary elements of our proper good, but obstacles to the quality of lifestyles.

Fr. McCoy's writings are not a moralistic sermon but a nuanced study of the slow, almost imperceptible dismantling of "the structure of political thought" that explains natural law. They make an eloquent footnote to Aristotle's axiom that "the state does not make men, but taking them from nature perfects them." □

Casus Belli

SETH CROPSEY

AS A MARINE Jim Webb distinguished himself fighting in Southeast Asia. Returning home, he recuperated from his wounds, worked on Capitol Hill, and joined a few brawls ignited by the cooling embers of the Vietnam War. He campaigned against Maya Lin's winning design for Washington's Vietnam War memorial, and he made a principled stand against allowing women into the Naval Academy, his alma mater; one of his four novels, *A Sense of Honor*, argues clearly and passionately why the Academy should remain all male.

Like his other books, *Something to Die For* is intensely personal. A platoon leader in one decade, and Secretary of the Navy in the next, Webb wants to make sense of what he has seen and felt. The story sets on inter-

***Something to Die For*, by James Webb (William Morrow, 416 pp., $20)**

Mr. Cropsey is director of the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation.

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secting courses the fates of USMC Colonel Bill Fogarty and Secretary of Defense Ron Holcomb. Fogarty is devoted to his family and to his men, intelligent, courageous, and professionally woozy after several years on Washington assignments. Holcomb, a brilliant manipulator, is an insider whose keenness for politics and other men's weaknesses compares favorably with a hungry predator's sense of its next meal.

To complete the cast are a congressman who chairs the House Armed Services Committee when he isn't sleeping with the SecDef's wife, bashing the Japanese, or slobbering over his Illinois constituents, and Admiral "Mad Dog" Mulcahy, whose juices are still wet enough to fight.

In the Horn of Africa, a Cuban division maneuvers to hook up with a Soviet naval battle group to regain control over Communist Ethiopia's rebellious province of Eritrea. Clutching at his last chance to command in combat, Mulcahy conspires with Holcomb to clear a Soviet-laid minefield in the northern Red Sea. The admiral flies to the Middle East intending to deliver a shock to the Cuban army that will topple Castro. While Holcomb negotiates with the Japanese over one of their corporation's deliberate sale of American high-tech weaponry to the Soviets, events in the Middle East rumble ominously out of control.

Authors have always used novels or poems to get particular ideas across. The first and greatest story of war, Homer's *Iliad*, paints heroism in colors so rich and lustrous that 28 centuries later, men who have never touched the book feel its power. Opposite to Homer, and closer to our own time, Tolstoy used Napoleon's invasion of Russia to advance the notion that history does more than great men to cause the biggest events of our lives—like wars.

As unfair as it may be to measure Jim Webb—or any of our contemporaries—against such distinguished authors, it is impossible to judge a work of fiction that asks to be taken seriously—as *Something to Die For* does—without gauging its ideas.

There are two ideas in this book: what is not worth dying for, and what is. Strangely, Webb, who considers himself a warrior, is much clearer about the former than the latter. As a boy, the hero—Fogarty—worships his Marine father who fought at Iwo Jima and in Korea. When dad returns from war after being congratulated personally for bravery by MacArthur, young Fogarty is so overwhelmed that he hides under the dining-room table. Father understands. He crawls underneath, coaxes his boy out, and the two hold each other, crying. This is worth soldiering for—Webb says so outright. It's also worth dying for.

How often has the American military fought when its families' lives hung directly upon the outcome? Maybe for the cavalryman on an accompanied tour whose family lived under threat of Indian attack. Or a Gettysburg citizen who fought there as well; but even that's unlikely, since Lee was not known for slaughtering

Fred Carlson

innocents. In fact, we haven't seen much to compare with the immediacy of the Iraqi threat to Kuwaiti noncombatants, or the Arab attacks on Israeli families when independence was proclaimed in 1948.

Fogarty does not insist on a direct threat to his family to justify war. But, because he values the lives of his men equally, he always demands to know *why* they must be risked. It's not that he disapproves of getting rid of Castro or driving a Latin American Communist dictator's army out of Africa, he just doesn't understand why the United States should care enough to fight.

Webb himself made a similar argument about American participation in the war against Saddam Hussein. In a *Wall Street Journal* article published January 31, he faulted President Bush for pursuing "ever-vague war aims," and for "putting the nation at risk when it has not been attacked." Webb sympathized with "those who argued a more patient approach," and criticized the Administration for its choice of "brute force rather than simple pressure against those with whom we disagree." Webb knows Middle Eastern politics are complex. But, as he finds the emir of Kuwait is no easy cause for Americans to be *for*, he seems not to consider that Saddam Hussein's monstrosities offered a legitimate cause *against* which Americans—and nearly everybody else—could, and did, rally.

Colonel Fogarty is also angry at a President who sends men into harm's way for vague reasons. He starts to write an on-the-eve-of-battle letter to the Commander-in-Chief; "just remember I died in a place called Edd." Webb carries this line of feeling deep into enemy territory.

The Cuban commanding officer, General Abelardo Valdez, is one of the book's most sympathetic characters, far more so than any in the chain of command above Fogarty. Valdez, too, is a study in courage and tactical brilliance. He wonders "what did Africa have to do with Cuba anyway," and despises his chain of command for *their* incompetence and cowardice. Valdez loves his family, most of all his son Antonio, a boxer—as Webb was at the Naval Academy.

But something is askew here. This sounds suspiciously like the notion that professional militaries often have more in common with one another than they do with the governments they serve. Secretaries of the American Navy, you've got to hope, understand the importance of the Constitution our officers pledge their lives to defend. This nation's attachment to principles—like those in the Constitution that guarantee self-government, personal freedom, and the rights of individuals—has influenced our participation in wars from the Revolutionary to the Civil, down to, yes, the war against Saddam Hussein. Like the people they serve, our military's devotion to those ideas sets them apart from the personal or merely nationalistic bonds that anchor other nations and their armed forces.

It's very hard to tell if Webb sees this. His world is richer and more mystical. Its bonds are between sons and fathers, and the gleaming courage of generations long past lights our way in the dusty reality of our own time.

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As when the old Senate Majority Leader of the novel praises a Confederate general in an exchange with the upstart Secretary of Defense, who sees only a loser in the ill-conceived battle to preserve slavery:

> Bedford Forrest, I think was one of the few American generals who deserve to be called great. . . . He was the only Confederate general who refused to surrender at Fort Donelson. . . . Seriously wounded at Shiloh. . . . But that doesn't matter. That's history.

Well, it matters to Webb. And so do the wars of our fathers against Japan and North Korea. For, in addition to the blow-dried men like Holcomb who earned Webb's enmity in Vietnam and afterward, those countries are the real enemies in *Something to Die For*. The Japanese sell American high technology to the Soviets through North Korea, and it's the Japanese whose economic attacks truly threaten the United States.

When Fogarty leads his men into combat against the Cubans, whom American politicians have cooked up as the enemy, the operation explodes. Japanese tankers sink in the Red Sea, an enraged chairman of the Joint Chiefs defies the National Security Advisor, the White House micromanages the ensuing action, Fogarty's battalion is chewed up, Admiral Mulcahy is relieved for cause, and the politicians huddle to cover up.

It's a gust of old wind. This novel's portrait of political ineptitude and cowardice, national malaise and despair, may be reminiscent of the Vietnam years, but it is out of step with the past decade. Webb likes to use phrases from his books as titles. "A Bumbling America," the opinion of a Japanese interpreter in *Something to Die For*, would have been a more accurate reflection of the book's overall statement.

That's a shame. Webb has a deep sense of history, and a sure feel for the clash of martial virtue with democratic values. But his political judgment doesn't keep up. At the end of the book is a heartrending scene in which Fogarty's grief-stricken son, unknowingly echoing his father, asks the President, "Who cares about Eritrea anyway?"

An author with a different view might easily have used the moment to talk about the weight of leadership in a world where freedom is still at risk; to speak—as the book of Exodus and Thucydides did—of the need to protect freedom in each generation; to praise the nobility of Americans like Colonel Fogarty who give their lives to enlarge others' freedom and to safeguard our own. Webb does not. The insipid condolences uttered by the fictional President drop faithlessly from his mouth. They capture Webb's view far better than they picture what is. □

FILM

The Case of the Missing Prepuce

JOHN SIMON

Europa, Europa, we are told by a title card, is a true story. It's what happened to Solomon Perel, a Jewish teenager, before and during World War II. At the end of the film, we see the real Perel, now 66, in front of a beautiful landscape in Israel, as he intones a Hebrew chant. As at the beginning, authenticity is affirmed. But the hell of it is that almost nothing about this movie, as we are watching it, rings true. Any number of avowedly fictional films come across infinitely more believable, more moving, more real.

The Perels were a German Jewish family of Polish origin living in a small German town in 1938, when, during a pogrom by Hitler Youths on the eve of Solly's bar mitzvah, his sister Bertha was killed. The family relocated to Lodz, Poland, only to have Hitler invade a year later. The eldest son deserts from the Polish army and brings news of imminent catastrophe; the father sends the two younger brothers, Isaak and Solomon, off eastward to seek refuge among the Russians. At a crowded river crossing, they become separated and Solly ends up in a Soviet orphanage in Grodno; his parents, he later learns, have been confined to the Lodz ghetto. Forswearing his religious background, Solly becomes a good enough little Communist to be eventually admitted to the Komsomol.

But Hitler breaks his pact with Russia, and forthwith Solly finds himself in a Nazi roundup where Jews are being screened out and shot. With his flawless German, he convinces the Nazis that he is Josef Peters, a transplanted German Aryan, and he is promptly annexed to this German military unit as a Russian interpreter. He becomes a dutiful German soldier until, in an attempt to surrender to some Russians across a bridge, he looks as if he had singlehandedly spearheaded a successful counterattack, and ends up as a hero.

Solly is sent to an elite Hitler Youth training school, where he does well, though he lives in constant fear that his circumcised member will give him away (the film began, effectively, with his circumcision ceremony), and his painful attempts to make himself a new foreskin are, of course, doomed. Eventually, Leni, the prettiest of the girl students, falls for him and takes him home to her widowed mother, where Solly, for the first time in years, experiences a sense of family. But when Leni tries to seduce him, he is afraid, though he returns her feelings, that she would recognize his Jewishness by his penis. So he refuses and, when she talks of cutting the throat of any Jew she'd meet, slaps her. The romance is nipped.

Earlier, Solly's commanding officer had talked about adopting the boy after the war was over, and the ex-CO's wife now invites her future son on a vacation from school. Instead, he goes to Lodz, where he catches a streetcar that runs through the ghetto. Though the tram's windows have been painted over to make them opaque, through a gap, Solly catches, both coming and going, horrifying glimpses (a little too conveniently panoramic) of ghetto life, including, he thinks, of his suffering mother. Back at school, much later—one of the film's most irritating weaknesses is its inability to convey a clear sense of time elapsed—he visits Leni's mother and learns from her that Leni, in an ecstasy of young-Nazidom, is about to bear a child as a gift to the Führer. In an outburst of misery, he confesses his Jewishness to the

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*

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woman, who claims to have guessed it all along. How?

What a charmed life Solly has! The good woman mothers him, and warns him not to tell Leni, who wouldn't understand. Only once before did Solly's Jewishness come out, when, back with that army unit, a soldier—a homosexual and actor in civilian life—chases the naked Solly around a barn, and makes the genital discovery. He, too, is a good German and becomes the boy's brotherly protector. When he gets killed in his trench and all other Germans flee, Solly remains seated by him, mourning. Evidently, no Russian bullet is disrespectful of his grief. The writer and director, Agnieszka Holland, gives us a fancy crane shot and achingly pulsating music—and an altogether unbelievable scene.

I have skipped much so far and have reached nowhere near the end of the film, but let me retrace my steps and examine some of the holes that *Europa, Europa* sports as if they were so many medals. To start with that *Kristallnacht* pogrom, it catches Solly reading in the tub as rocks come flying in the bathroom window. He jumps out naked into the courtyard below, climbs across a dividing wall, and hides in an empty barrel in back of the neighboring beerhall. But why would a 13-year-old whose house is being besieged leap out naked unto his enemies and risk being beaten or killed? Is it not logical to hide inside with his family behind locked doors? And why, coming home much later, would he find his sister dead and bloody on a tabletop, and the rest of the family grieving? Why was only Bertha killed? Why wasn't her body properly attended to?

There may be explanations to such questions that keep cropping up throughout the film, but Miss Holland will not or cannot give them. Why, for example, when the Nazis doubt the veracity of Solly's Aryanness, do they not make him, like some others, drop his pants? And why doesn't anyone—in the army, at the school—get to see his circumcised organ? Once, when a medical exam is imminent, Solly fakes a sore tooth in need of extraction. He howls like a banshee; would a star student and leader of a victorious attack on the enemy carry on so in front of everyone over a mere toothache? And, after the tooth is pulled, wouldn't he still have to have his physical?

Earlier, when the kids from the Grodno orphanage were escaping under the leadership of a highly attractive woman teacher (quite improbably smitten with Solly), this young woman, in the midst of panic on the teeming road, forcefully requisitions a truck for her wards. A German plane strafes the escapees, then the truck gets going and only Solly, who was hiding under it (is he the smartest or the cravenest?), cannot hoist himself into the vehicle and is left behind. Why can't this powerful and loving woman get the truck to stop for a few seconds? Too much in this movie looks manipulative.

Again, a middle-aged woman in uniform, some kind of officer, is escorting Solly from the front to that elite school

Alen Nahigian

on a train. She, too, falls for the sexy kid and seduces him in a railway compartment. Granted, the lights are out, but if this experienced woman did not notice anything, why would Solly fear that the innocent Leni, who probably never heard about foreskins, would spot such a lack? Again, much later during a battle scene, despite the urgings of an officer behind him, Solly refuses to shoot a young surrendering Russian, and defies repeated commands to fire. Wouldn't that officer have pistol-whipped him for insubordination? And, would you believe it, everyone around Solly is killed, so no one can incriminate him later on.

Unlikely coincidences, unlikely hairbreadth escapes, contrived little setbacks—the film abounds in them. True, war is a hotbed of confusion, rampant with absurdities. Still, if you added up all the elements in *Europa, Europa* that would strain the greatest talent for credulity, the figure would be too large even for the most brazen fiction; but this, we are told first and last, is the truth. Which raises two questions: Just how much stranger than fiction can the truth afford to be? What good is all the truth in the world if the work of art cannot make it *feel* true?

Miss Holland commits every kind of error. I'll instance half a dozen types. First, she doesn't know where to stop. It's fine for a Russian teacher to say to a Polish boy to pray to his God for some candy and have nothing happen, then have him pray to Stalin and promptly have goodies shower down from an airduct above. But to follow this up immediately with an air raid and debris falling through the same duct is heavyhanded symbolism—too much. Second, she doesn't know how to evoke atmosphere, except in some easy cases. Thus when the Nazi soldiery adopts Solly as a mascot, she cannot convey what about him was so captivating—the telling remark, incident, touch. Granted that Marco Hofschneider, though pleasant-looking, does not convey quick intelligence, the filmmaker could still have found ways to stage such key scenes more flavorously, flexibly, incisively.

Third, Miss Holland needs a better aural sense. The dubbing of this international cast is atrocious. You don't need to know German and Russian, the film's main languages, to realize the delinquencies of synchronization here: there's many a painful slip between the dub and the lip. Fourth, she needs a better editorial sense. The inclusion of dream sequences in which, say, Hitler and Stalin dance together is pretentious and alien to the rest of the film. Only if there were more fantasy in the realistic sequences could such outright fantastication be absorbed. Fifth, she needs more of a sense of history. Yes, the Nazis had one branch of their propaganda representing Jews as hideous, subhuman creatures. But would a teacher at an elite school with older pupils not realize that some of them would have known Jews very much like themselves? Would he not have taught hatred in subtler terms than the *Stürmer* caricatures? It would have eliminated some cheap humor from the scene and made it more chillingly effective. But, of course, Miss Holland is telling her story often on a low-com-

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edy level. I wonder how Perel does it in his book, not yet available here.

Finally, Miss Holland lacks plain sense. You do not in an epilogue show the present-day, real-life Solomon Perel, a homely little man bearing no resemblance to the cute kid who portrays him up to then. There are not enough hooks on a movie theater's wall—or in the world—from which to suspend that much disbelief. The fact that *Europa, Europa* takes on an important subject seems to have guaranteed it good notices from the more Pavlovian reviewers, even if the story-telling is faulty, the humor often feeble, and the persuasiveness minimal. □

THE GIMLET EYE

Daggers Drawn

FLORENCE KING

AMERICANS react to wit as Dracula to the Cross. Wit is undemocratic. Its standard modifiers, *rapier* and *stiletto*, were weapons of Renaissance aristocrats. The last witty civilizations, eighteenth-century France and England, were also the last aristocratic civilizations. After them came the deluge of democracy and the rise of the middle class. Both found their natural homes in America, where the double entendres and bons mots of biting wit fell victim to the desire for respectability and the restraint demanded of the socially mobile. Pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps is a good way to choke; living in dread of saying the wrong thing, Americans rejected wit and embraced that favorite of the self-made man, the tall tale.

Next came the melting pot. Diversity may be good for the body politic but it spells disaster for the funny bone. Wit and its handmaidens, satire and parody, require a strong point of view, a common ground, and a ruthless audience—conditions that conflict with the miasmic national squish we call "consensus."

Diversity has truncated American wit by depriving us of a national comic figure that everyone knows in his bones. The French have the miser, the Irish have the biddy, the Italians have the jealous husband, the English have the doggy lady, but what does America have?

Paul Bunyan, Dagwood Bumstead, Babbitt the traveling salesman, the Southern senator, the Jewish mother, the Boston Brahmin, and the good ole boy—to name just a few. It sounds like a rich comedic heritage, but one man's aberration is another man's ethos; what is funny to millions of Americans leaves millions of others bemused.

Our diversity also kills the spontaneity that wit must have. Our worst nightmare is that backbone of wit, the generalization. Samuel Johnson's quip, "If you give a Scot something, he'll either break it or drink it," would cause mass cardiac arrest in the land of the free and the home of Jimmy the Greek. Jesse Jackson and Ted Kennedy would go on *Nightline* and wail, "Some Scots are clumsy drunks but the vast majority of Scottish-Americans are well educated and responsible citizens."

There goes your sprightly discourse. Proper timing is impossible when compassionate liberals keep popping up and saying *some*.

We are so afraid of giving offense that we have turned into oral basket cases. Not daring to trust each other to filter sweeping statements, we clutter up our speech and writing with awkward adverbial easements like "generally speaking" and "by and large," dragging in carefully documented exceptions on the grappling hooks of equivocation, getting so tangled up in what we are trying *not* to say that we commit wit's bugbear, unintentional humor, e.g., "Americans of all nationalities."

Wit goes for the jugular, not the jocular, and it has no "healing power" whatever. It is, said Dorothy Parker, "the humor of the indifferent," so it is bound to be anathema in a nation where headline writers see nothing funny about "HEARTS GO OUT TO BRAINLESS BABY." In our frantic pursuit of

Miss King is the author most recently of Lump It or Leave It *(St. Martin's).*

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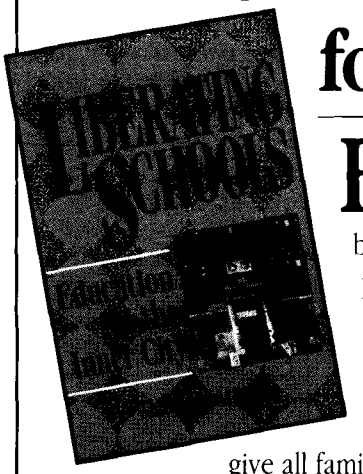

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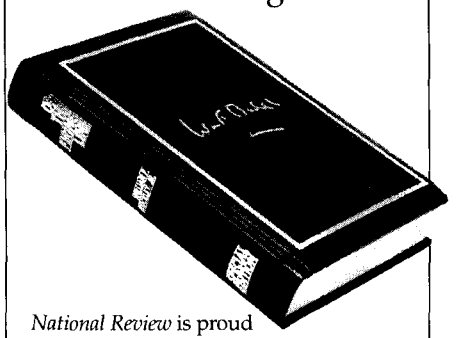

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sensitivity and compassion, we reject corrosive rejoinders in favor of the bland heartiness and tense jocularity of the toastmaster's gentle dig.

Even on the rare occasion when some American actually gets mad, he instinctively tries to blunt his remarks with broad humor. Asked his opinion of Jerry Falwell, Barry Goldwater replied, "Somebody should kick him in the ass." It was supposed to be harmlessly funny, but as Somerset Maugham observed, "There is not much kick in the milk of human kindness." In a similar exchange, America's last aristocrat produced a witticism that would have won plaudits from Samuel Johnson. Asked his opinion of William Jennings Bryan, the frosty Charles Francis Adams said: "He is in one sense Scripturally formidable, for he is unquestionably armed with the jawbone of an ass." Today such a remark would be a candidate for damage control.

Another enemy of wit is American "pragmatism"—i.e., laziness. The pinnacle of wit is the *jeu d'esprit*—wit for its own sake, with no purpose but sheer joy in words. The *jeu d'esprit* should be popular in a country obsessed with games, but it collides with our preference for the quick 'n' easy. It takes a lot of reading and reflection to come up with puns, maxims, epigrams, and ripostes, but Americans can't be bothered. Our wish to be clever without going to the trouble of being learned is reflected throughout our culture, most notably in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, whose notorious italics are a substitute for archness.

The witty woman especially is a tragic figure in America. Wit destroys eroticism and eroticism destroys wit, so a woman must choose between taking lovers and taking no prisoners.

As with stilettos and rapiers, the problem is one of adjectives. A woman who is "sharp," "cutting," and "surgical" is disturbing to men. Wit also demands attitudes that have been bred out of women for centuries. Taught to say, "I love people" and "sex is beautiful," the average woman finds it impossible to summon the sang-froid, contempt, impatience, sarcasm, pessimism, and bawdiness required to crack ice at thirty paces.

If she is married, total solemnity is but a husband away. America's leading expatriate, Henry James, deplored our Noah's Ark complex, saying: "An amiable bachelor here and there doesn't strike me as at all amiss, and I think he too may forward the cause of civilization."

Wit flourished in the conversational salons of the eighteenth century largely because they were not attended by "couples." But American spouses go everywhere together and spend the evening signaling each other what *not* to say with daggerish stares, elbows in the ribs, kicks under the table, and hisses of "Shut up!" lest a clever riposte arouse fear and loathing in all the other married couples who go everywhere together.

These are the same people who reply "a good sense of humor" in surveys about the qualities they look for in a mate. They lie. The man who says he wants a wife with a good sense of humor actually is looking for that quality of benumbed resignation found in women known as "good sports"; the woman who says she wants a husband with a good sense of humor actually is looking for someone who won't be mean to the children.

The biggest reason why Americans hate wit is the clouding effect it has on sexual identity. Wit is aggressive and therefore masculine, but it is also waspish and therefore feminine. Therefore, witty people are a little funny. □

CHESS

Life Itself

LARRY PARR & LEV ALBURT

IN ONE of the half dozen or so truthful entries in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, chess is defined as "an art in the form of a game." An art because the human personality expresses itself in the movement of the chess pieces; a game because chess is a struggle between two players—an aesthetic rendering of the survival of the fittest. "Life itself is a kind of chess," wrote Benjamin Franklin in *The Morals of Chess*.

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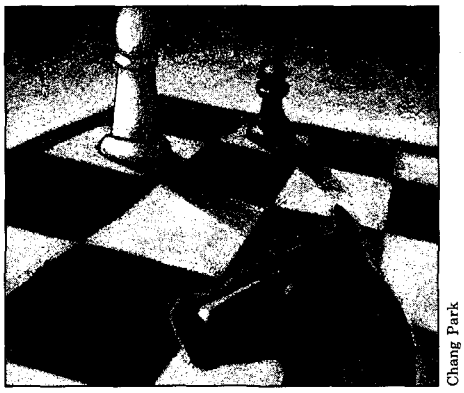
Of course, if one mentions the word "chess" to most of the 25 million Americans estimated to play the game, they are likely to associate it not with Franklin or with chess experts before him, but with Bobby Fischer. But Fischer dates back only to 1943, while chess goes far back to antiquity.

Some time before 500 A.D. in the north of India, members of royal courts began to shift various objects on a board, each object representing a unit of ancient Indian armies. There were foot-soldiers, cavalry, armed chariots, and, of course, elephants. As in real life, these fighting pieces were commanded by a king and his senior minister, the vizier, which is the queen in the modern game. The Indian game was *shatranj*, the direct ancestor of chess, and the victor was he who employed the deeper strategies and the more accurate tactics.

For many people, the allure of chess lies in the extraordinary difficulty of employing these deeper strategies and more accurate tactics. The nobles and notables of old Europe spent so many



Chang Park

hours hunched over chess boards, lost in the filigree of the game's intricacies, that chess became known as, first, the royal game and later, during the French Enlightenment, as the signature pastime of an era. Robespierre was an ardent coffeehouse chess player, and André Philidor, the French composer and favorite of Parisian ladies, was the world's first chess master. In the Age of Reason, the moves of the pieces were like the conclusions of syllogisms.

These days, chess serves as a rich source of military and political metaphors. "The game is wonderful," says Jim Rice, the lyricist for such shows as *Evita* and the successful London musical, *Chess*, "because it's politics written small." Karl Marx regarded chess as dialectics practiced on 64 squares and took the game very seriously. "When Marx got into a difficult position," wrote Wilhelm Liebknecht, "he would get angry, and losing a game would cause him to fly into a rage!"

In the Soviet Union, chess players are important enough to get shot—as C. P. Snow once said of Soviet writers. Chess is not only the national game (the USSR chess federation has about five million members), but it is also what Nikolai Krylenko called "a scientific weapon in the battle on the cultural front."

During the 1930s, successful Soviet grandmasters spent much of their time dispatching telegrams to the "Dear beloved teacher and leader" who made their various victories possible. "I sensed behind me the support of my whole country," wrote one grandmaster, "the care of our government and our party and above all that daily care which you, our great leader, have taken and still take."

As the poet Lakhuti put it, "Stalin demands victories!" Or else.

By the mid 1980s, victories were still being demanded, though with Stalin gone there was social space for others to be adulated. Who achieved the expected victories became as important as the victories themselves.

Take, for example, the famous feud between Gary Kasparov and Anatoly Karpov. Kasparov is a young Armenian of Jewish descent, who is today a major figure in the Russian democratic movement. Karpov, a Soviet loyalist whose ideological raiment lacks even the bulky cut of Mikhail Gorbachev's apparat chic, claims that his only loves are Communism and chess. On one occasion, top Soviet leaders meddled so shamelessly on Karpov's behalf that the *New York Times* commented: "It matters when a country formally accused of non-compliance with arms treaties is credibly charged with fudging even at the clear rules of international chess."

Of all the misconceptions about chess, the most charming is that it is a game dominated by quaint, little old men with pot-bellies, pince-nez, goatees, and bald heads. In truth, chess is a young man's game, requiring tremendous physical endurance. The first match between Kasparov and Karpov back in 1984–85 was called off because Karpov could not continue. Near the end of the match in February 1985, Muscovites were joking that he looked worse than the dying Konstantin Chernenko. Another misconception about chess is that the game is difficult to learn. In fact, twenty minutes with a below-average chess teacher is enough to learn the moves, though for most people twenty years is scarcely long enough to learn to make good moves.

Among chess players, there is a debate over the nature of chess. Richard Réti, a romantic Bohemian, regarded chess as an art; and José Capablanca, a phenomenally talented Cuban, supposedly proved it to be a science. The Soviets propagandize chess as a dialectical struggle.

Communists, like broken clocks, do get it right, now and then. Following every move, a new situation arises. Call it a thesis. The requirement is to find the correct antithesis so as to create a victorious synthesis. It is an inward-looking calling that has driven many men crazy, just as it did Luzhin, the protagonist in Vladimir Nabokov's *The Defense*.

Dialectical struggle. Negation of negation. That's chess. □

Mr. Parr is editor of Glasnost News & Review. *Mr. Alburt is a chess grandmaster living in New York.*

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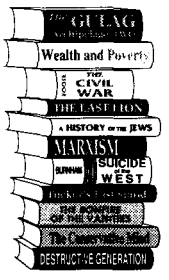

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 K	2 F		3 O	4 H	5 B	6 R	7 D	8 J		9 C	10 E	11 M	12 K	13 L	14 G	15 H		16 D	17 F
	18 N	19 I	20 A	21 C		22 B	23 M		24 R	25 J	26 G	27 H	28 L		29 N	30 D	31 G	32 Q	33 M
34 K	35 E	36 A		37 C	38 N		39 F	40 L	41 O	42 J	43 B	44 R		45 P	46 S		47 D	48 C	49 G
50 M	51 K	52 H	53 J		54 Q		55 B	56 O	57 A	58 N	59 D		60 L	61 C	62 H	63 F	64 I	65 S	66 J
67 K		68 E	69 R		70 D	71 A	72 M		73 O	74 H	75 N	76 C		77 D	78 L	79 B	80 G	81 P	82 M
	83 C	84 M		85 K	86 R	87 E	88 H	89 A	90 L	91 B	92 C		93 E	94 Q	95 N	96 D	97 J	98 O	99 I
	100G	101M		102F	103D	104P	105Q		106C	107G	108L	109S	110A	111N	112J	113K		114O	115C
116Q	117H	118B		119K	120M		121J	122E		123I	124D	125F	126S	127A	128Q		129D	130G	131R
132E	133N	134A	135C		136K	137J		138H	139L		140L	141E	142N	143G		144J	145G	146F	147K
148C	149R		150D	151Q	152F	153M	154G		155B	156P	157Q	158H	159O	160I	161G	162A	163J		

DEFINITIONS

A. Equip with tanks and armor — 57 36 162 71 20 134 89 110 127

B. Surly — 155 118 79 55 5 91 43 22

C. Tennessee city celebrated in song — 106 76 61 9 21 115 148 83 37 135 / 92

D. Establish as the real McCoy — 47 16 70 103 7 59 150 124 77 96 / 129 30

E. Onetime U.S. steel-producing area—today — 87 141 122 68 93 10 132 35

F. Boaz, sans wife? — 39 152 102 63 125 146 2 17

G. Chances — 145 48 49 100 80 143 26 14 161 154 / 107 130 31

H. Child's electric source of reassurance — 52 74 88 138 117 27 4 15 158 62

I. In one piece — 123 19 64 160 99

J. Like the busy bee — 66 112 144 97 163 53 8 121 25 42 / 137

K. Lewd — 12 34 147 67 1 85 51 119 136 113

L. Depression — 28 139 140 40 60 108 13 78 90

M. With great ease — 72 101 84 50 120 33 11 23 153 82

N. Germany's legislature (once) — 38 111 133 95 29 142 18 58 75

O. Hot dog at the ballpark! — 98 73 159 3 56 114 41

P. High society's "See ya" (hyph.) — 81 156 45 104

Q. Vex — 116 151 128 32 157 54 105 94

R. When the beach is most spacious (2 words) — 131 69 24 149 86 6 44

S. Town in Lombardy — 65 46 126 109

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 52 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

DANIEL BERGER:

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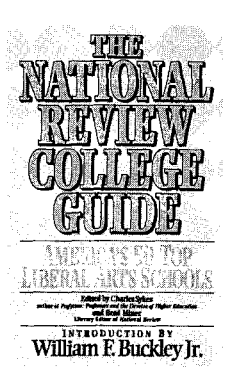

LETTERS

(Continued from page 3)

asked priests and laity how one evangelizes another to the Church when one can not explain for what the Church stands. When a proposed Canon that a priest (not even laity) must abstain from extramarital sex is defeated, one has trouble evangelizing the Church as anything more than Sunday morning opera. Unless the next convention is forcibly focused on finding "common ground," it probably will be this Church's last before a major schism.

Richard Andrews
Lisle, Ill.

Correct, True, but Redundant

I am surprised that *NR* has published a review of Bret Easton Ellis's newest obscenity, *American Psycho* [June 24]. Surely there are other books being published, good or bad, which are more worthy of our attention. Though I disagree with nothing Terry Teachout writes in this review, I find the article redundant. Everything which can be said of Ellis's work, both style and content, has been said in almost uniformly bad reviews across the nation.

One note about Teachout's conclusion: he writes that as a student at Bennington College, Ellis "no doubt . . . spent his undergraduate years steeped in the modish brand of academic nihilism that goes by the name of 'deconstruction.'" This is giving Ellis more credit than he deserves. Having been a literature major at that scandalous and sorry institution during Ellis's time there, I cannot recall the Literature and Languages Department or the students being particularly interested in deconstruction or any other relevant, if not convincing, theory.

Scott Wang
Waltham, Mass.

Blues and Bach

Tom Bethell's remark that some jazz improvisations "create an interweaving polyphony comparable in complexity to parts of the [Bach] Brandenburg Concertos" ["They Had a Right to Sing the Blues," July 8] mistakes the density of the musical surface for true complexity. Jazz musicians may be as inventive as they please within the confines of a progression of chords, agreement upon which is the basis of their improvisation. In musical time, though, they remain bound to the time-sequence of pre-established chord changes. In classical music, time is relative. The great classical composers, as the Austrian music theorist Heinrich Schenker demonstrated, developed the freedom to elongate or compress the governing harmonic progression at whatever length they chose.

The "simplest" Chopin mazurka thus exhibits far greater complexity *in time* than the most embellished jazz riff, and, to my ears, commensurately greater expressive power. No other idiom but Western tonal music commands this sort of freedom within time. That is what infuses the Brandenburg Concertos with qualities of tension, suspense, and surprise which jazz cannot replicate.

David P. Goldman
Morristown, N.J.

Audible Differences

It was a surprise for me to be quoted in the article "Can the ABA Declare Independence?" [July 8]. But even more surprising was my designation as "a pro-choice attorney" because I am a pro-life activist. Because Mr. England did not discuss with me my personal views on the abortion issue before quoting my public remarks, he could only have assumed that because I am a woman attorney I am "pro-choice." Not only is such an assumption erroneous in my case but it unfortunately represents typical media bias on the abortion issue. I expected better from your publication.

More surprising to your readership, perhaps, are the results of a study of ABA members conducted in preparation for the Chicago meeting in August 1990, which was described in the article. In that survey, a majority of ABA members (55 per cent) believed that the ABA should remain neutral on the abortion issue, and female members were evenly divided, with 47 per cent supporting neutrality and 47 favoring the pro-abortion position. Please don't stereotype woman lawyers on this or other issues.

Nancy L. Iredale
Los Angeles, Calif.

I do not assume that woman lawyers are pro-choice. When Nancy Iredale got up to speak before the House of Delegates in Chicago, I thought I heard her say that even though she was pro-choice, she was in favor of making the ABA neutral on the abortion issue. Perhaps it was a slip of the tongue on her part. Or perhaps I did not hear her clearly, since I was surrounded by reporters who were chatting loudly throughout the debate, cheering pro-abortion speakers, and mocking pro-life ones. Ultimately, the neutrality vote would have failed if some people whose personal view was pro-choice had not reacted against the politicization of the ABA by signing on to the neutrality movement. —RSE

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Militarize Women?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 5

The Senate has now passed a bill permitting women who volunteer to fly combat aircraft to do so, and the movement to extend the rights of women to equality in the trenches is growing. Give a thought, please, to this demurral.

1. The practical arguments, in favor and against, have occupied most of the time of the jurists brought in to decide the question. It is observed that, on average, men are 40 per cent stronger than women. Does that sound decisive to you? Perhaps, in which case you have given the subject insufficient thought, for the simple reason that there is little correlation between human strength and military skill. This is not to say that there are no situations in which sheer brute physical force isn't critically useful, but such situations are put in place by recalling that Napoleon was 5 feet 3, and that T. E. Lawrence weighed less than 150 pounds.

2. A corollary of the above is the argument that women's reflexes are every bit as fast as men's and that success or failure as a modern soldier, particularly in a fighter aircraft, depends on the speed of response. If Amy can read the dials and do the correct thing just as fast as Roger, why should the Air Force discriminate against her? The answer of course is that the Air Force should not discriminate against her, if speed of response is the only criterion relevant.

3. To the argument that in combat conditions it is a burden to provide two sets of washroom facilities, the pleaders for what they call women's rights argue to the effect that in combat situations, antimacassar niceties become simply irrelevant. Both men and women go up in spacecraft, and mixed company have made long passages, on small boats and even on rafts. Primitive cultures simply ignore biological differences at this level, and war-making has a great deal to learn from primitive cultures, where the objective is the thing that rules, not the taboo, which is properly relegated to insignificance.

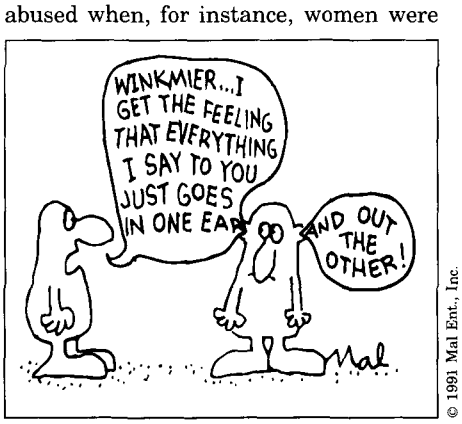
Very well then, the arguments in favor of women in the military are in. Here is the side to which I belong:

1. The attempt to equalize the sexes is going to be asymptotic. You think you have reached equality, but there is still a tiny difference there. That difference bespeaks an insight which is a hallmark of civilization.

2. It is a pity that the useless word "equality" ever got into the act, because one cannot in the nature of things make "equal" that which is not the same. You can play around with other words if you wish. Fungible? No, the sexes aren't fungible. Miscible? Yes: but miscible elements retain their identity. If the sexes weren't miscible, life together would be impossible.

The point is that men and women are different, and that it is *of nature* (*ex natura*) that one sex should be drawn to one pursuit (among many), the other to another pursuit (among many). That a woman should aspire to be a poet or an architect, a doctor or an engineer, does no violation to the critical insight of separateness of nature. But that a woman should ignore that which binds her to the newborn child or enjoins her to comfort men who cannot adequately be comforted by other men is a tug against nature. And that a man, himself a poet or a doctor or an engineer or an architect, should cease instinctively to gravitate to his responsibility to protect the home is—a violation of his nature.

The awful, fanatical compulsion to perfect interchangeable sexes does violence to primary instincts that are wrong when abused, as they were singularly abused when, for instance, women were not allowed even to vote. But to overcorrect an abuse is to commit a fresh abuse. Because we know that women should be educated and should vote and should exercise their capacity to lead does not dissipate that tropism that assigns to the woman primary responsibility for the care of the child, and to the man, primary responsibility for the care of the woman.



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Transplanting it all onto the battle scene we need to wonder whether the machine gunner exposing his life to effect a mission isn't dismayed at the thought of a young woman firing away at his side, causing him to wonder, wonder, whether the fight he is fighting reflects a civilized order. □

Some Black Leaders On Thomas

NEW YORK, AUGUST 2

Why is Clarence Thomas thought by some to be ineligible to serve as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court? Well, he's a Catholic (or was). He is married to a white conservative (a woman). He is black (allegedly). He believes in something called a natural law (along with Thomas Jefferson). He once smoked marijuana (or was it twice?), and he hung a Confederate flag in his office in Georgia (only it was a Georgia state flag, it turns out).

The Congressional Black Caucus, with the single distinguished exception of its only Republican, Gary Franks, voted within a matter of hours to reject Thomas. Then the black contumely began in earnest. Samples:

—Derrick Bell, professor, of Harvard Law School: ". . . the choice of a black like Clarence Thomas replicates the slavemasters' practice of elevating to overseer (and other positions of quasi-power) those slaves willing to mimic the masters' views, carry out orders, and by their presence provide a perverse legitimacy to the oppression they aided and approved. Given what is arguably a First Amendment right to 'act the fool for white folks,' it would be regarded as unseemly for blacks who understand all too well why Thomas should not be seated on the Supreme Court to take the lead in opposing him." Read: No black man whose views are congruent with those of white conservatives is honest.

—Barbara Reynolds, columnist: "I still advocate his confirmation. . . . if Hugo Black, who once was a member of the KKK, could become a distinguished lib-

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eral Justice, there is hope that a Negro can turn black. Maybe Thomas . . . could find his soul." Read: No black man whose views are congruent with those of white conservatives has a soul.

—Derrick Jackson, *Boston Globe*: "Both [Booker T. Washington and Clarence Thomas] were showpieces for white conservatives eager to show off African-Americans who rise from poverty, mouthing the sole benefits of individual self-help while the U.S. gets off the hook for large, group injustice." Read: If individual blacks succeed, don't celebrate their success: it casts shadows on those who don't succeed.

—Dewayne Wickman, *USA Today*: ". . . it's foolhardy to think there do not exist scoundrels who would attempt to foist the peculiar tenets of their church upon the rest of us. Such is the nature of the self-righteous. Doug Wilder suggested Clarence Thomas may be such a person. He ought to know." Read: Clarence Thomas threatens the survival of the First Amendment.

—An NAACP board member "who asked not to be identified": "Thomas is Bork in blackface. I don't see how we can support someone who stands against everything we stand for." Read: No black who disagrees with the NAACP's board, which disagrees with the 56 per cent of American blacks who wish to see Thomas confirmed, should be confirmed.

—Representative Craig Washington, Texas: "Clarence Thomas is not fit to shine the shoes of Thurgood Marshall." Read: Go back and eat watermelon, Clarence.

—Barbara Reynolds: "[Judge Thomas's rulings could be] influenced by his wife, a white conservative." Read: No aspiring black judge should marry a white conservative.

—Vernon Jarrett, Chicago columnist: "[Clarence Thomas is] Willie Horton in reverse." Read: President Bush uses blacks merely as symbols. Thomas is a bad symbol. (Not clear whether Horton is good symbol.)

—Carl Rowan, columnist: "If they had put David Duke on, I wouldn't scream as much because they would look at David Duke for what he is. If you gave Clarence Thomas a little flour on his face, you'd think you had David Duke talking." Read: Only if you were as dumb as Carl Rowan.

Tens of thousands of blacks who are embarrassed by the statements of some of their spokesmen can take comfort from the fact that they have company among white folks. When Robert Bork was nominated, Senator Kennedy lost no time. "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids." If you take comfort in being associated with Senator Kennedy, you can take comfort. □

Encountering The Ultimate Spook

NEW YORK, AUGUST 9

The recent publicity given to James Jesus Angleton, the master spook of the Central Intelligence Agency, releases many of us from what we held before to be secret. The book *Cold Warrior*, by Tom Mangold, stresses the sad end of one of the truly brilliant and exotic figures of the cold war, whose passion as a student at Yale was poetry, and whose best friend in his early professional days was Kim Philby, who turned out to be the Soviet Union's most valuable spy. It is commonly agreed that Angleton never got over that shock.

Those who care about the protocols should know that CIA agents who served under "deep cover" are pledged never to reveal what it was that they did while in service, which is why, when questioned what I did for the CIA during the nine months I worked there in 1951, I have always refused to say, venturing only that I don't remember killing anybody. It was on the understanding that I would consider my oath still binding that I was approached about 15 years ago by the great Mr. Angleton.

He had recently been fired from the CIA by Director William Colby. When someone of such eminence is dismissed, rumors begin to float, and the one that hit me was that James Jesus Angleton had become so suspicious about Soviet defectors that he was denying Western intelligence the potential fruit of their revelations. He was suspicious, it is now publicly revealed, of just about everybody except one man—Anatoly Golitsyn.

It was strange to hear over the telephone that cool, quiet voice of a legendary figure I had never met—asking me to have dinner with him. . . . We did, and it wasn't until dessert-and-coffee that he divulged his purpose.

Had I, he said, ever heard of Golitsyn? Negative. Well, said JJA, he is unquestionably the most important defector in the history of the cold war. He has been with us for 15 years, the information we have got out of him has been invaluable, and now he has decided to write a book about the grand plot of the Communists to take over the world, "and he wants you to write it."

I would discover that it is not easy to say no to James Jesus Angleton, and our compromise when we parted that night was that I would agree to meet with the great spy, secretly; at my house, in Stamford, Connecticut. G lived under very deep cover, "somewhere" in New York state; he would drive his own car and meet JJA at a junction near my house, and together they would arrive.

They did, and the next three hours were spent by Golitsyn turning the pages of his huge manuscript, written in English only barely comprehensible. I would learn that the crux of the master deception of the Communists was the rift between China and Russia. The key? It was a phony rift, designed to distract the West from the centrality of Soviet goals. Except that JJA would not have appreciated it, I'd have said I was familiar with that thesis, since it was a sacred article of faith of the John Birch Society.

I could say, only, that to write a book based on Mr. G's material would take an entire year, and my next ten years were spoken for. Might I suggest a substitute ghostwriter?

Golitsyn grabbed his manuscript and hugged it to his chest. He trusted only me, he said. I told him I was grateful for his confidence, but I promised him I could put my fingers on one other reliable American anti-Communist writer, and began to describe the background and affiliations of a friend who was suddenly and unexpectedly out of work.

Mr. Angleton, puffing away at his cigarette, drew his prize defector to another part of the house, and when they returned, I was informed that I was at liberty to propose the job to my friend, whose credentials (of course) would be carefully examined before any deal was entered into.

Three months later Mr. Golitsyn appeared at the house of his new ghostwriter with his manuscript in a locked briefcase handcuffed to his wrist. He thereupon announced to his new editorial assistant that it was his plan to sleep in-house during the six months or so required to write the book, because he could not trust the manuscript away from his sight. My friend, father of five active children and with a spirited wife, patted the master defector on the back, and wished him luck elsewhere.

The book came out, a few years later, and was widely unnoticed. But body contact with James Jesus Angleton will live forever in the memory. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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OFF THE RECORD

Black Mischief. By now everyone knows the Congressional Black Caucus came out against Clarence Thomas, the lone dissenter being Representative Gary Franks, a newly elected black Republican from Connecticut. Thanks to the *Wall Street Journal*'s Paul Gigot, we also know that the main topic of conversation in the meeting before the Caucus made its announcement was a *USA Today* poll showing overwhelming black support for Judge Thomas's confirmation.

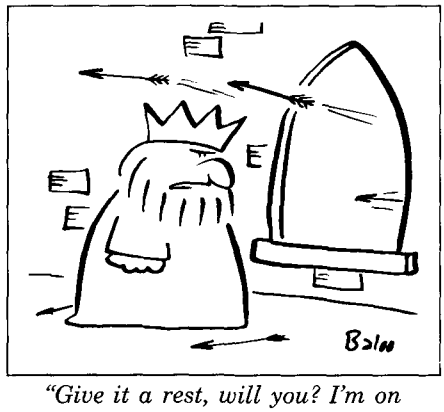
What few people know about, however, is the creative editing that went into the Caucus's handouts on Judge Thomas's record, particularly his famous 1987 talk at the Heritage Foundation, "Why Black Americans Should Look to Conservative Policies." The handout quotes him as follows: "During my first year in the Administration . . . the emphasis in the area of civil rights and social policies was decidedly negative. In the civil-rights area, we began to argue consistently against affirmative action. We attacked welfare and the welfare mentality. These are positions with which I agree." The handout ends there. But in the very next sentence, Mr. Thomas went on to make the main point of his talk: "But the emphasis was unnecessarily negative."

Indeed, Mr. Thomas went on to criticize the Reagan Administration for changing its position to come out in favor of Bob Jones University, which had been accused of practicing racial discrimination, as well as for not putting forward a positive agenda on equal rights. In other words, Judge Thomas said the exact opposite of what these alumni of the Joe Biden School of Citation would like you to believe.

The Dodd Doctrine. With Communism in tatters and the government of El Salvador's President Alfredo Cristiani on the verge of a peace agreement with the rebels there, the burden of the Revolution has fallen on the U.S. Senate. The lead man here is Chris Dodd (D., Conn.), who recently tried to cut off aid to the Cristiani government. The Administration punted on this one, as Secretary of State Jim Baker made no phone calls to shore up support for U.S. policy. Fortunately, there was a Horatius at the bridge: Senator John McCain (R., Ariz.) filibustered, and Senator Dodd lost.

This is not a new issue for the Honorable Mr. Dodd. He has been hammering away at the Reagan and Bush Administrations on it since 1981, and this time he almost got his way, even though a number of Central American ambassadors (all of whom represent democratically elected governments) urged Washington not to withdraw aid to President Cristiani at this critical moment. The senator's response? On the floor the next day, Mr. Dodd mentioned that he might look at ways to reduce aid to El Salvador when the Foreign Operations appropriations bill comes around. Never give up a bad cause.

Let My People Go. Conservatives are giving Charlton Heston the credit for forcing reconsideration of the reappointment of Mary Cracraft to the National Labor Relations Board. Back when right-to-work forces were pushing to stop unions from using dues for partisan politics—a position ultimately taken by the Supreme Court in its *Beck* decision—Miss Cracraft was on the wrong side of the fence. The White House told Mr. Heston, who came to Washington to make his point, that it was unaware of this background when it reappointed her to the NLRB. A number of conservative senators, who have longer memories than the Administration, had put a hold on the nomination, which then lapsed when Congress recessed. It will be interesting to see whether the Administration resubmits Miss Cracraft's name when Congress resumes, now that her background is a matter of current record.



"Give it a rest, will you? I'm on my break!"

Kelly's Kitty. It seems there's more to Judge Patrick Kelly's story than was broadcast during his surprise appearance on ABC's *Nightline*. Cato has learned that the Carter appointee now celebrated for his injunction against Operation Rescue activists in Wichita has a clear track record on abortion. Indeed, last year he struck down a resolution passed *en banc* by the City Council and the Sedgwick County (Kansas) board of commissioners to deny local government funding to Planned Parenthood; Judge Kelly claimed the resolution was an "unconstitutional" intrusion "upon the basic privacy right of women to make an informed decision regarding pregnancy." And a check of Federal Election Commission records shows that before his appointment in 1980, the judge contributed ample bucks to pro-abortion Democratic candidates. Mind you, this is not as incriminating as a belief in natural law.

Posting Notice. The *Washington Post*'s Ben Bradlee has resigned as executive editor, but he may still be worth a headline or two. In a C-SPAN interview to be broadcast August 26, Mr. Bradlee says that George Bush used to be a nice guy, but he's now a liar—for saying that Clarence Thomas's race had nothing to do with his Supreme Court appointment. "I mean, that's not true," says Mr. Bradlee. "So the press recognizes that and treats him in a way as a result of that single statement that's going to make them enemies." Cato recalls that Mr. Bradlee, who today is so scrupulous about truth, is the same Mr. Bradlee who denied any knowledge of the extramarital escapades of his close pal JFK (which go unmentioned in his 1974 book, *Conversations with Kennedy*). Executive privilege? —CATO

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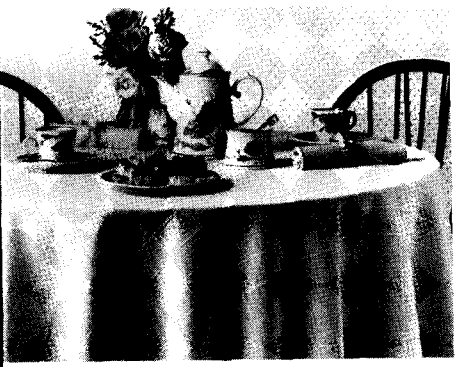

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